A "NEW" CHEKHOV STORY

THE *Nation*

September 18, 1954

20¢

Tom Dewey and the G. O. P. Split

by Harvey A. Call

The Formosan War

by Carey McWilliams

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

SEP 21 1954

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Trumbull Park: Act II *Robert Gruenberg*

Furor Teutonicus *Frederick L. Schuman*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Letter from a Soldier

Dear Sirs: It is with an inexpressible feeling of happiness that I receive and read each copy of *The Nation,* even though it takes approximately three weeks to reach me. I am an infantryman in Germany, and your weekly is my only source of information besides the "truth" heard on radio or read in *Stars and Stripes.*

What I see wrong with our generation is its acceptance of everything the leadership of the country does or says. It asks only to be let alone as much as possible. "Let someone else run the country. All I want is a decent job, a wife and kids, and a car and a home."

The big problem is how to awaken my generation to speak up and try to bring a society apparently bent on self-destruction to its senses. We cannot just stand on one side and ignore the facts. Liberals, radicals, non-conformists, intellectuals are all facing destruction in the United States. They had better wake up and speak up before they follow the Indians, for even now they are fast becoming the "Vanishing American."

PVT. SELWYN LEDERMAN

Germany

Excessive Bail

Dear Sirs: The Justice Department has repeatedly violated the intent of our constitutional Eighth Amendment, the first provision of which states that "excessive bail shall not be required." I hope that readers may feel impelled to protest the many instances in which such excessive bail has been required in Smith Act cases that defendants must remain in jail until their appeal has been heard. Confinement in prison pending appeal seriously handicaps preparation of defense briefs, and should a favorable decision be handed down the victim will have served unnecessary months in jail. Political defendants today are being denied a basic right, which is honored only on behalf of those indicted not for their opinions but for offenses which the law recognizes as felonies.

EDNA COLEMAN

New York

C. I. O. and McCarthy

Dear Sirs: At about the same time that Senator Welker of Idaho was saying the C. I. O. was responsible for the Flanders resolution to censure Senator McCarthy, Bernard Nossiter was saying in the July 24 issue of *The Nation* that the C. I. O. and its affiliated unions haven't been sufficiently anti-McCarthy.

Both the Senator and Mr. Nossiter would have difficulty documenting their respective cases.

C. I. O. unions have indeed been critical of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and of the ugly phenomenon of McCarthyism —and pretty continuously so since the Senator started to play with figures in Wheeling, West Virginia. It is ridiculous and erroneous to maintain, as Mr. Nossiter has done, that only the unions expelled from the C. I. O. as Communist-dominated have effectively combatted McCarthy and McCarthyism.

Large numbers of C. I. O. union officials and members recognize all the dangerous implications of these phenomena. They can spot the significance of a reactionary Texas multi-millionaire or an anti-labor bill as well as if not better than Mr. Nossiter. He seems to feel that because C. I. O. unions are anti-Communist, they can't be effectively anti-McCarthy. Mr. Nossiter is wrong, and he ought to take a good look at the record before he writes another discourse on the subject.

HENRY C. FLEISHER,
Publicity Director, C. I. O.

Washington, D. C.

Reply by Mr. Nossiter

Dear Sirs: Mr. Fleisher seems to have missed my points. There were two: that unions have repeatedly denounced McCarthy but failed to back words with deeds; that unions generally have failed to recognize McCarthyism as a pathological but logical extension of the internal anti-Communist drive, and this drive endangers the unions' very existence.

New York BERNARD NOSSITER

Student Organizations

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed Paul Breslow's article on Students for America in your March 20 issue, but I was disappointed to read Mr. Breslow's reply to Robert Matthews in the issue of August 7, in which the former indicated he was sorry that Students for America had finally been recognized on the Fordham campus.

It would seem to me a good thing for the questioning collegiate political mind to be given a chance to compare the work of Students for America—which is anything but constructive—with the constructive work of such groups as Students for Democratic Action and the National Students Association. Incidentally, both S. D. A. and N. S. A. have been attacked by S. F. A.—quite ineffectively, I might add.

DAVID COHEN

Philadelphia, Pa.

Chinese Student Dilemma

Dear Sirs: You may be interested in the following letter which we have sent to the President:

"We the undersigned are Chinese students who have been engaged in the study of engineering, medical, or natural sciences for various lengths of time in the United States.

"After the completion of certain stages of academic studies, some of us have applied for exit permits either to go back to China or to go to other places. Invariably these applications were refused, and we were told by the immigration authorities that none of the few thousand of Chinese students in the field of technical sciences would be allowed to leave.

"In the seeking of knowledge and wisdom some of the undersigned have had to leave behind their beloved wives and children. In most of the cases the painful separation has already lasted seven years, and their return is still being denied. The plight of others, although not married, is by no means less tragic. Distressed and unsettled, we are forced to let slip through our fingers the best years of our lives. . . .

"Having been well received by various people we have met in the United States, and having observed at first-hand a democracy at work, under which human rights are held sacred, we feel all the more that preventing us from leaving this country can at best be attributed to a temporary expediency, especially when the persons concerned are guilty of no crime and the sole reason for restraining their departure is their acquisition of technical training. We would respectfully point out that the technical training we have received here involves no codes of secrecy; indeed, the spreading of scientific knowledge and technical know-how has been the very spirit of a great tradition of this country ever since its establishment. . . .

"We sincerely appeal to you, Mr. President, to make it possible for any Chinese student to be allowed to leave the United States whenever he so chooses, and we petition you to revoke this restraining order. In doing so we do not believe that the security of this great nation would be in any way endangered. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that by so doing a firmer bond of friendship and understanding will be established between our two peoples."

CHIA HUA CHANG;	*St. Louis, Mo.*
HSING CHIEN CHANG;	*Boston, Mass.*
MARY PIN CHANG;	*Providence, R. I.*
WING YAO CHEN;	*Baltimore, Md.*
SHIH FEI CHIANG;	*Brooklawn, N. J.*
CHIEN CHOU;	*Columbus, Ohio*
TUNG WHEI CHOW	*Bronxville, N. Y.*

and nineteen others.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 179, Number 12
New York, Saturday, September 18, 1954

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Formosan War . . . by Carey McWilliams

TODAY another of what the late Admiral Forrest Sherman called "the little wars" has broken out in Asia —the Formosan war. Simmering for the last four years, it has now entered a new and critical phase. Most Americans are hardly aware of its existence. For most of them, unfortunately, Formosa is terra incognita. Much of what goes on there, and in adjacent waters, is veiled in military secrecy or in diplomatic doubletalk. Two administrations in Washington have refrained from taking the people into their confidence on the issue of Formosa. Up to the present time, also, Formosa has been a sideshow, overshadowed first by events in Korea; more recently, by events in Indo-China. But yesterday's sideshow has become today's main event, and it is high time that the American public took a look at the Formosan war. Some of the relevant "hard" facts are not available but the main outline is clear.

THERE was, first of all, the period of "neutralization." On June 27, 1950, President Truman announced that the Seventh Fleet would be used to shield Formosa and the Pescadores from any mainland attack and, by the same token, to prevent Chiang Kai-shek from striking at the mainland. Nothing was said in the order about the other offshore islands, some two hundred in all. Indeed, we sought to make clear that what happened on or about these islands was none of our business. The Chinese Communists had tried without success to seize Quemoy in October, 1949, and again in July, 1950. At the time of the second attack, the State Department announced that we would not intervene in any Communist attempt to take Quemoy, and all queries along this line were answered by reference to the precise terms of the President's order. Chiang Kai-shek's six divisions, which garrisoned these islands, were carefully omitted from his twenty-one divisions on Formosa which were included in the American training and equipment program. In other words, it was quite clear until recently that we wanted to disclaim any responsibility for these islands—in part, no doubt, because we knew that Chiang was using them for purposes with which we did not want to be identified. What with the excitement over Korea, President Truman's order of June 27, 1950, aroused little immediate opposition although it should have been apparent then that our position was extremely vulnerable. For the President had acted unilaterally, without U. N. support, in contravention of British opinion and perhaps even of British policy, and without any well-thought-out concept of ultimate aims and intentions. Nor had the Chinese Communists intervened in Korea at the time Formosa was "neutralized."

Long before President Eisenhower acted on February 2, 1953, to "unleash" Chiang's warriors, thereby ushering in the period of "deneutralization," it had become apparent that the original Truman order was more in the nature of a "screen" or "cover" than a shield. For example, as early as December, 1951, the press carried stories of thirteen Chinese Nationalists being killed in a raid on a Red-held island off Fukien—one of numerous similar items. On February 11, 1953, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported from Taipeh that in the preceding seven months Nationalists had hit the mainland Communists fifteen times in a series of attacks which involved raiding parties ranging in size from 1,500 to 6,000. As the Nationalist raids continued, the Chinese Communists began to fortify the shore with anti-aircraft batteries, radar, and air power, thereby setting the stage for later developments. All that changed after February 2, 1953, was that a tacit unacknowledged policy under Truman was converted into a declared and open Eisenhower policy. Joseph C. Harsch summed the situation up in this fashion:

> Since the end of 1950, the Chinese Nationalists have mounted a steadily increasing number of raids on Communist-held off-shore islands and on the mainland. These raids have been widely publicized. Interviews with returning raiders have been printed frequently, and photographs of prisoners captured during the raids. On February 1, a United States television network carried a pictorial story of a Nationalist raiding base with pictures of prisoners captured on the mainland.
>
> The United States Navy explains the difference between theory and practice in the following manner. Whenever the Seventh Fleet was around, the Chinese Nationalists conducted only "training exercises." When the "training exercises" became actual raids on Communist-held territory it "just happened" that the Seventh Fleet was occupied elsewhere.

For some time after the President "unleashed" the terrible Chiang, the meaning of his action remained

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Formosan War
by Carey McWilliams 221

Our "Uncontrollable" Allies
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 225

ARTICLES

Tom Dewey and the G. O. P. Split
by Harvey A. Call 226

Need a Doctor? A Union Finds a Way
by Joseph T. de Silva 229

Trumbull Park, Act II,
Elizabeth Wood Story
by Robert Gruenberg 230

To Speak or Be Silent
by Anton Chekhov 232

BOOKS

Furor Teutonicus
by Frederick L. Schuman 233

The Bournoose and the Red Star
by Edgar Snow 234

The Jew in America
by Henry Popkin 235

Selected New Books:

Poetry *by John Ciardi* 236

Philosophy and Psychology
by Waldo Frank 236

New Books in Brief 237

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 239

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 585
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 240

LETTERS opposite 221

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow — *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, September 18, 1954. Volume 179, No. 12

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

obscure. But it became quite clear when, on August 17, 1953, Marguerite Higgins, writing in the *Herald Tribune* from Formosa, stated that Chiang Kai-shek had entered into some kind of agreement with us not to launch any actions or attacks without our approval. The next day "a responsible government source" in Washington confirmed the existence of a secret understanding with the Nationalists along these lines. Various newspapers began pointing out that we had now made Chiang our acknowledged agent and could therefore hardly escape responsibility for his actions. Said the Washington *Post:* "He [Chiang] has become the agent of the American government, though, like Syngman Rhee, a most unreliable one. His prime aim in life remains more than ever to trip the United States into a major conflict with the Communist powers in Asia. That is his only passport to the mainland and power."

THE truce in Korea, signed July 27, 1953, opened a period described by one correspondent as one of "busy comings and goings" on Formosa. Admiral Felix Stump visited Formosa twice in early August, and the Generalissimo was reported as being "deeply concerned" over the future of United States policy toward China. There was renewed talk of the possibility of admitting Red China to the United Nations. "The Nationalists here," reported William Miller from Taipeh, November 7, 1953, "are afraid an economy-minded Congress will pinch the pocketbook." But the mounting crisis in Indo-China removed these fears. A big build-up of Nationalist power got under way. At the urging of Senator Dirksen, the Nationalists got $501,000,000—one-third of the total aid appropriated for the Far East. At the same time the question of extending the "shield" to the off-shore islands began to crop up in the dispatches. Asked in Hongkong if the Seventh Fleet would help the Nationalists hold the off-shore islands, Vice-Admiral Joseph J. Clark replied on August 23, 1953, "I would not like to comment on the islands."

Two closely related developments could now be observed. In the first place, the commando raids formerly staged by the Nationalists virtually stopped; a costly attack in July, 1953, against Tungshan, about fifty miles northeast of Swatow, seems to have marked the end of the Nationalists' enthusiasm for raids of this sort. At the same time the Communists began to recapture some of the off-shore islands. By February 8, this year, the Reds could announce that they had captured eleven islands from the Nationalists during 1953. In the second place, splits within the Nationalist regime on Formosa began to deepen. On March 10, 1954, the National Assembly voted to dismiss Vice-President Li Tsung-jen, and on March 14, Dr. K. C. Wu, who had resigned as Governor of Formosa in May, 1953, broke with the Nationalists. It was as though the long-suppressed fac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions and individual rivalries within the Nationalist regime had suddenly come to the surface. With time running out on Chiang, the jockeying for advantageous positions from which to succeed or take over his leadership naturally intensified. The question of the succession involves, of course, far more than the control of Formosa and the millions of American dollars pouring into Taipeh; at stake is the whole question of the leadership of ten or twelve million overseas Chinese, key pawns in the struggle for power in Southeast Asia.

As the recent Geneva meeting drew near, all the antecedent tensions mounted. General Chen Cheng, now Premier and regarded as the heir apparent, told the Legislative Yuan on February 27 that the Nationalists could not afford to wait another three to five years for a return to the mainland. Chiang was then sixty-eight; the average age of his troops, twenty-eight. The Nationalists were alarmed, and furious, over comments on July 15 by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Clement R. Attlee, opposition leader, suggesting trusteeship as a possible solution for the problem of Formosa. As though to quiet Nationalist apprehensions over the invitation extended Red China to attend Geneva, two destroyers were presented on February 27 to Chiang's representatives at Charleston, South Carolina, by Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson.

Then, with the Geneva meeting under way, the Formosan War flared to a new intensity. The New York *World-Telegram* reported on May 19: "Chinese civil war is flaming again. For a week planes and warships have been clashing along a wide stretch of south China's coast. . . . At stake is control of a vital invasion bridge to Formosa or the mainland, the Tachen Islands. . . . So far the Nationalists rule the Formosa Strait but Air Force General Wang warns that Red air power may lash out in force at any time." On July 23, a British Cathay Pacific airliner was shot down off the Chinese Communist island of Hainan with a loss of ten lives. On July 26, two Chinese fighter planes were shot down, and the following day the United States Navy announced that planes from the carriers Hornet and Philippine Sea had been given the order to be "quick on the trigger." On August 13, Chou En-lai announced that Communist China intended to "liberate" Formosa. On August 18, Admiral Stump visited the Tachen Islands, only fourteen miles from the mainland, and on August 20 the President announced that the Chinese Nationalists had been equipped with American jet warplanes. The same day, destroyers of the Seventh Fleet made "a show of strength" near Taipeh, and on August 25 Secretary Dulles announced that the Joint Chiefs would decide which of the off-shore islands to defend as part of the defense of Formosa. Responsible observers noted that the wording of Mr. Dulles's statement implied that a decision had in fact been made to defend the Tachen Islands, on which American officers in "false whiskers" have been stationed for some time.

In the wake of these developments the Chinese Reds launched what was widely reported as a "pinprick" raid on Quemoy Island to test the meaning of Mr. Dulles's equivocal statement. Quemoy is the nearest of the off-shore islands to the mainland; it is only about 2,000 yards distant, practically in the mouth of Amoy harbor. Nationalists and Communists have been taking artillery shots at each other there for some time; in fact two American officers were killed by Red artillery fire on Quemoy on September 3. Thus Mr. Truman's "shield" has been extended from Formosa to within easy artillery range of the mainland if the new decision includes Quemoy, or to within fourteen miles if, as seems more likely, we have decided to protect the Tachen Islands. Asked if the navy is within its rights if it operates along the coast of Asia, Admiral Stump replied: "Yes, if it stays outside the three-mile limit." Quemoy is outside the three-mile limit, measured from the mainland, but the question of whether American air and naval forces will assist in its defense in case of invasion, is, presumably, to be decided in "the first instance" by the military, although their advice will not necessarily be followed. Despite the fact that the President and his military advisers have not always seen eye to eye on strategic matters, doesn't a policy of this kind come dangerously close, and James Reston has suggested, to giving the admirals the power to make war?

IN THE meantime a major development in the Formosa Straits has apparently changed the relationship between our "agent" Chiang and the Chinese Reds. Apparently from about the time that the Nationalists seized a Soviet oil tanker on June 23, 1954, the Chinese Reds began to provide air cover to protect ships destined for Chinese ports. This was by way of a countermove against a Nationalist attempt to blockade these ports. In an interview with *U. S. News and World Report* on August 27, Admiral Stump acknowledged that "the free Chinese do harass Communist Chinese coastal trade . . . by the use of naval craft," although he denied that an air blockade of Shanghai existed. "This results in increased costs to the Communists and a reluctance of some shipping firms to engage in Chinese mainland trade. The free Chinese navy also operates in waters further south." Asked if there was anything to the Communist charge that American aircraft spot ships heading for Communist ports for the benefit of the Nationalists, the Admiral replied like an admiral: "We conduct patrols over seas of the ocean in which we have an interest."

The off-shore islands have, of course, a vital importance in terms of this attempted blockade. "With Nationalist troops on them," writes Keyes Beech from Taipei, "these islands are a constant threat to the security

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Peiping regime. The Nationalist Chinese use them to spy on Communist shipping and as an advanced base from which to send agents or guerrillas to the mainland. If the Nationalist troops were driven off, the Communists would have a safe coastal waterway for their shipping, which now must pass through Formosa Strait, exposed to seizure by Nationalist gunboats." Hence they have apparently decided to seize Quemoy before the monsoon weather sets in and the Formosa Strait becomes one of the roughest stretches of water in the world.

Assuming that Chiang is our agent, his attempt to impose a blockade of the coastal ports raises some important issues. On August 28, the Chinese Communists reported that "British ships are steaming into Shanghai harbor at the rate of one a day." The same report went on to say that 246 foreign vessels arrived in the huge port during the first half of 1954, with a British armada of 182 ships making up the bulk of the arrivals. When the possibility that we might impose a blockade of the Chinese ports came up in February, 1953, the British lost little time in announcing that they would oppose any such move. The chance of retaliation against Hongkong was stressed, and the attitude of India, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon was raised. At that time Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin of Pakistan warned that a blockade of China would affect many friends of the United States who want to trade with China.

And it may well be that the Hainan incident was somehow related to Chiang's attempt to impose a blockade. Herbert Elliston's comment in the Washington *Post* is certainly suggestive:

> The impetuosity of our actions in the Gulf of Tongking by men who seem to have been given carte blanche by the policy-makers in Washington unnerved a lot of Europeans. Even the State Department was stumped for information. The gulf happens to be a double war zone —the Indo-China war and the maraudings of General Chennault's Civil Air Transport along the south China coast. And CAT is the first syllable of Cathay in Cathay Pacific Airlines. Accidents had not happened before because the Peking regime did not station jets and suspicious pilots in Hainan until a month ago. The British would certainly have rerouted their passenger line if they had known this. As it was, they were as bothered about our impetuosity as grateful for our assistance. Nor did our note to Peking via the British appease the general fright—it was in such strange contrast to the ignoring of Chou En-lai in Geneva.
>
> However, the President acted with celerity. He ordered our carriers away, and, *though of course nothing will be done about Chennault's freebooters,* who are acting on official American encouragement, for the nonce the excitement is over. [Emphasis added. It should be noted that Chennault apparently uses ordinary commercial aircraft.]

"For the nonce." But in the meantime the Formosan war continues. Before this war spreads any farther, we had better reassess our position. The danger at the moment, as Senator Knowland's repeated "pop-off" comments have demonstrated, is that our political leaders have become the captives of their own theatrical and chauvinistic attitudes. In an election year they are more concerned with the "consistency" of their positions than with the forward movement of events.

WHAT, then, is American policy in relation to Formosa? When we imposed the "shield" in 1950, what were our real intentions? What were they when we "unleashed" Chiang in 1953? In the age of the A- and H-bombs, is Formosa indispensable to the defense of bases in the Philippines and Okinawa? "Politically and psychologically," writes Hanson W. Baldwin (August 1, 1954), "Formosa and the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek have assumed importance disproportionate to their actual strength." Formosa, he concludes, has more negative or defensive importance than positive or offensive value. "Formosa cannot be a springboard for a major military invasion of Communist China unless the United States provides the transport and shipping." Would we still insist on defending Formosa if Japan were rearmed? On no other single issue would the British be less likely to enter a war by our side. Chiang's attempt to blockade the mainland ports will annoy most of our friends and all neutrals. At the same time, Formosa is a wonderful issue for the Chinese Reds to use in attempting to drive a wedge between America and Britain, to bring the Labor Party to power in Britain (said to be a major objective), to align India and Indonesia on their side, to aggravate the tension within the Formosan regime, and to neutralize Japan.

In recent years Formosa has received more United States aid per capita than possibly any other country in the world. But this aid has not been used to develop a democratic regime; the recent fulminations of K. C. Wu should be conclusive on this point. "Although Formosa has experienced encouraging economic progress, including land reform, the failure of American policy to stimulate healthy political evolution has weakened Nationalist China's attraction among non-Communist Chinese," wrote Albert Ravenholt in the Chicago *Daily News* of July 6. From "neutralization" we have passed to "deneutralization" and now to the financing of guerrilla warfare and an attempted blockade, and yet we still lack a coherent long-range policy on Formosa. The London *Daily Telegraph* reflects the spirit of European criticism of our policy vacuum by observing on September 7: "The American Seventh Fleet is performing a humane as well as a political service in protecting Formosa from any attempt at invasion. It would, however, be an excellent thing if the United States government would return to its policy of preventing Nationalist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raids on the Communist-held mainland." Chiang is desperate; as his seizure of the Soviet tanker indicates, he is trying his best to touch off an explosion between Russia and America.

The danger in Formosa is that China and America confront each other directly and at points now no more than 2,000 yards distant, and both are committed officially to courses of action which could mean war. The presence of Chiang, a most unreliable agent, compounds every risk implicit in this new relationship. We are not stumbling toward war in the Formosan Straits; a "little war" exists there now and we are parties to it. Before we become any further committed by some action of our own or of Chiang's or of the Chinese Communists, it is time that we defined an American policy toward Formosa. Yet the moment we attempt this task we are confronted with the fact that we cannot have a peaceful policy toward Formosa unless we are prepared to negotiate with the Chinese; and negotiation implies recognition. On this issue American thinking is paralyzed; but, in the meantime, the Chinese Reds move forward. They have now shown, by the attack on Quemoy, that the Formosan issue presents a threat to world peace. The issue may well be raised at the coming session of the U. N., and the belated realization of this possibility may explain Mr. Lodge's momentary hesitation about pressing the case against the Soviets over the downed plane. The Formosan war is already a threat to world peace, and the key to its solution is the recognition by the United Nations and the United States of Asia's greatest power as a precondition to negotiation and the settlement of pending issues, including Formosa.

Our "Uncontrollable" Allies . . . *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

RECENT developments have not made people in the United Nations particularly happy. The facts that even while Secretary Dulles was visiting Chiang Kai-shek, Nationalist planes continued to attack Communist China and that Peking was reiterating its intention of liberating Formosa and denouncing Mr. Dulles's dealings with the Generalissimo—these increase the fear that the world may be moving back into a period of tension like that preceding the settlement of the Indo-China conflict at Geneva. In fact, at the very moment when the eight nations gathered in Manila were putting their signatures to the Southeast Asia security treaty, security in the Far East was under new threats—justifying Nehru's acid comment on what official propaganda has described as "this historic alliance of East and West solidly welded at Manila." "I find this treaty," said the Indian Prime Minister, "a very unfortunate event. . . . The steps taken in the name of aggression themselves encourage aggression."

The interdependence of international developments, greater than ever before, makes it impossible to dissociate what is now taking place in Asia from what happened three weeks ago in Europe. We have been witnessing during recent days the efforts of Western diplomacy to save the idea and policy which lay behind the defeated European Army project. Obviously there are still people who do not realize that the killing of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly marked not only the end of an era but the end of the illusion that, by a miracle of Western solidarity, the entire past, with its intense national fears and antipathies, could be submerged in the supreme common purpose of stopping Russia.

The difficulties involved in the effort to replace E. D. C. with something of equivalent political and military value became evident very soon after the search for a substitute began. The British proposal of a nine-power conference in London to explore safe ways to achieve West German rearmament and sovereignty had to be abandoned. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden decided to make a flying round of European capitals in an effort to iron out differences and prevent the coming meeting of the NATO Council in New York or Washington, arranged by the United States to coincide with the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, from ending in a new fiasco.

Among other far-reaching consequences, the collapse of the original structure has had the disturbing effect of increasing the role of the subaltern members of the anti-Communist front. In the measure that France, Italy, and Britain show themselves reluctant to consign their destinies to an arrangement that one day might involve them in a war of atomic annihilation, the small fry come to the fore, eagerly offering their services to replace those of the reluctant E. D. C. members, and asking of course that the United States be most liberal in the provision of arms. We are witnessing the apotheosis of what might be called the "uncontrollable" allies. In the case of Formosa, Thailand, and the Philippines the word "uncontrollable" may sound out of place; however, in the case of others it fits very well, for it cannot be denied that their fate and fortune are less closely bound up with Washington and their ambitions are as grandiose as those of Chiang. For instance, no matter how many verbal guaranties are given to Israel, the provision of arms by the United States to the Arab countries, most of whose

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders are sworn to the destruction of the new state, may easily create a situation which threatens not only Israel but the basic strategy of the West.

In Spain, another of the substitute allies is slipping out of control. By now the French intelligence service has conclusive proof that some of the bloodiest *attentats* in French Morocco have been organized in Spain with Franco's full knowledge. The American-Franco treaty signed just a year ago has tremendously encouraged the anti-French propaganda of the Spanish dictatorship. In perfect teamwork with the Arab League, whose highest officials are constantly visiting Madrid and Tetuán, Franco is covertly attacking France in Africa.

If in the Middle East, Asia, and Spain the present Western policy opens the way to irresponsible incidents and adventures, the danger of explosion naturally becomes greater in the case of a bilateral rearmament of Germany. One need only watch carefully the reactions in Bonn to the vote in the French Assembly to understand the extent to which a new *Wehrmacht* will elude any foreign controls that might handicap its plans for reconquest and revenge. Once Germany is armed, nobody will be able to stop its drive to regain its former territories, today under Russian, Polish, or Czech rule. Not Secretary Dulles, not Chancellor Adenauer himself, can prevent a German version of the "roll-back" policy.

The rise of these "uncontrollable" allies, the attempt to replace by a combination of peripheral strategic bases around the world and mercenary armies the original plan embodied in the E. D. C. create new dangers not yet easy to estimate. It will not be surprising therefore if in one form or another the issue comes up in the next Assembly of the United Nations convening on September 21. It may take the form of a discussion of the question whether or not the new Southeast Asia pact is a true "regional" grouping in the meaning of the Charter, or whether it is only another attempt to bypass the United Nations and rear a new barrier to negotiated agreement among the powers.

TOM DEWEY

And the G. O. P. Split . . . *by Harvey A. Call*

THROUGHOUT the inner tug-of-war that has been waged over national patronage for the past two years, the Republican Party has buried its head in the sand and ignored the wide divergence of opinions within its ranks.

Now faced by its first national election since its rejuvenation, and with its problems multiplied by the announced retirement of Governor Dewey, the G. O. P. is belatedly pleading for harmony. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon is exerting all of his considerable charm and oratorical ability as well as his official prestige in stumping for a united party. The goal is to achieve a sufficient number of Republican Congressional victories on November 2 to uphold the prestige of the Eisenhower Administration and the party.

There are grave fears, even within the party, that this effort is too little and now much too late. Neither patronage, national power, nor the famed Ike charm has been able to weld the party factions into a smooth-running team.

Republican campaign strategy admits the party cannot sell the Republican record—the record being something of an octopus stretching in all directions at once: liberalism on civil rights, conservatism on monetary policies, middle-of-the-road on taxation, far right on communism, liberalism on social-security extension. Instead, the Republicans have embarked on a campaign to sell their No. 1 personality, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The President, elected to a large degree on his non-partisan appeal and the fact he was not identified with any of the party factions, finds himself more the prime issue in this campaign than he was in 1952. During his residence at the White House he has sought to maintain his position by only the most timid participation in politics and only lukewarm indorsements of a few party candidates. Being forced into a position of lending his name and active support to virtually every Republican candidate without regard to his personal feelings is a situation which obviously is hard for the President to face.

Why has the President been put in this position? Why is the Republican Party unable to wage its own campaign? The answer lies in the lack of unity for which Vice-President Nixon and other party spokesmen are now pleading.

IKE'S nomination in 1952 was achieved through the hard work and political cunning of forces which united behind New York's retiring Governor Dewey. To them the President owes the opportunity which placed him in the White House. But he is equally obligated to another faction for the legislative record compiled by his Administration. Since January 20, 1953, he has had to turn to the Taft-Old Guard faction for the Congressional votes and the Congressional leadership necessary to enact the measures of his program. Each of these groups amounts to a party in itself. Each disagrees quite violently with the other. Each smarts under wounds inflicted by its foes in past battles. Each is most

HARVEY A. CALL served four years as director of publicity for the New York Republican State Committee, a post from which he recently resigned.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jealous of the least recognition or patronage given the other. And each has a very real stake in the outcome of the election.

The Taft group represents the Old Guard school of Republicanism. It is conservative if not reactionary, and organization-minded. It frequently takes the attitude that what was good enough for grandpa is good enough for them. Senator Taft, reared in the stern traditions of government service and Republicanism as exemplified by his father, President William Howard Taft, long was the darling of the Republican Old Guard.

However, Bob Taft was an oak that bent, if ever so slightly, in the political winds. Like his group, he held originally to George Washington's admonition to "avoid entangling foreign alliances." With the advent of World War II, Taft, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, and others modified their tenets to accept the possibility, if not the belief, that attainment of international security lies in the cooperation of free, peace-loving nations. Nevertheless, Taft Republicans view foreign nations with the utmost suspicion and distrust. If occasionally they support foreign-relief programs, it is primarily in the belief that such a course of action will cost less money than a large militia or war. Wars, they feel, should be fought by the other fellows.

On domestic issues the Taft group leans to the theory that the least government possible is the best government. Strict exponents of free enterprise, they resented bitterly the intrusion of government into business under the Democratic regimes. They bristled at the wanton waste of Henry A. Wallace's program to kill pigs and plow under crops in the '30's. They fought old-age-security programs as robbing individuals of the incentive to save. They were against the upsurge of labor and unionism under the Wagner Act. They smarted under high taxation, arguing that the levies were imposed only to help lazy loafers.

Whether they would try, if they could, to turn the clock back and eradicate the many "objectionable" things of the past two decades is debatable. In the main they would content themselves with modifying the trends they maintain were leading America to ruin. And they are practical-enough politicians to realize this is the most they can hope to do.

Of course, up to July, 1952, they wanted first, last, and always to see Bob Taft in the White House. When his third bid for the nomination was turned down at Chicago, they were greatly disappointed. It took them some time to recognize that their forces in Congress would be in the strong position of controlling legislation should Eisenhower win.

With Ike's victory, the Taft forces quickly organized to make the most of

Dewey

their opportunity. Throughout the Eighty-third Congress they were far more united and effective in influencing legislation than their fellow-Republicans of the liberal side.

THE liberal tag, it should be noted, is resented by most Republicans who are opposed to the Taft-Old Guard school. They consider their Republican ideals the true ideals, more in keeping with the early history of the party and the traditions of Lincoln. They are not liberals in the sense of the Democratic Party's acceptance of socialistic principles nor are they progressives in the sense of Bob LaFollette's old Progressive Party. In the Lincoln tradition they are aware of and sympathetic to the needs of individuals and classes. Their interest, however, tends to be scholarly and lacks the personal element. Accordingly they sponsor and support legislation of broad social benefits but move slowly and without the impetus of the personal enthusiasm exhibited by their Democratic foes, who act to alleviate the worries of the John Smiths in whom they are personally interested.

The liberal Republicans' viewpoint is usually represented by legislation such as that enacted in New York state under Governor Dewey's leadership. This includes the Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-discrimination measures, extended unemployment benefits, disability insurance, modern mental-health programs, and considerable other humane legislation. The key to the philosophy is that if a thing can be done efficiently and effectively by private enterprise, it should be left to private enterprise. On the other hand, if the government should do the job or can do it better, then the government should do it. The liberal Republican sees far more good in labor unions than do Old Guard Republicans. What he insists on the government doing for him he is willing to pay for in increased taxes. He is for better schools, better roads, and the building for a better tomorrow.

On the international level, the liberal Republican favors cooperation with other nations, acknowledgment of the obligation of the United States to assume leadership of the free nations, and economic aid for distressed peoples.

Called "me-tooism" in the 1948 campaign when Dewey made his second bid for election as President, the liberal Republican ideals run parallel to many New Deal objectives for social betterment. They differ, however, in the means of attaining the goals. No superstate, no encompassing maize of bureaucracy is necessary to realize a better life under our form of government, the liberal Republicans maintain.

The gulf between the Old Guard and the Dewey school of Republicanism is vast. At times, in local precincts, cities, counties, and states, the fight is waged quietly between individual exponents of the two philosophies. At other times the differences break out into club fights, primary battles, and drives to unseat various leaders. In the latter cases, bitter words and hard feelings ensue. It was at Chicago in July, 1952, that fighting reached the bitterest point. Adherents on both sides still rankle over the body blows that were dealt in the national convention. Taft people will never forget or forgive the Dewey-group strategy that launched the "thou shall not steal" campaign in the struggle for Texas delegates. Because the battle plan was successful it was the more bitter to take. Dewey Republicans, likewise, will long remember the convention newspaper

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issued by the Taft forces urging "Sink Dewey."

Behind the scenes or in more subtle ways the clash has gone on between leaders and Republicans of the two groups over the years. With some the hard feelings were rooted so far back that they can no longer remember what started their part in the feud. Party leaders play the game cagily, making up with one another when expediency demands. Rank-and-file party members fall into the classifications according to their political thinking, Old Guard or liberal, or because they have hitched their political interests to the star of a favored candidate. The division exists to some degree wherever there are Republicans.

Liberal Republicans tend to dominate in urban areas; rural and inland sections cling more to the Old Guard traditions. The division crosses lines, with business men, white-collar workers, bankers, and some tradesmen in each group. There seems to be no prevailing economic support unique to either.

The fact that the Dewey forces have beaten the Taft men three times running in the national arena seems to indicate the former have the edge among Republican voters, though it is by no means a decisive margin. In political power, however, the Taft forces are more potent. Invariably they control the Republican National Committee between national elections. Likewise they maintain a consistent hold on many state and local organizations. That now means they are dishing out a major share of patronage —to Taft-Old Guard favorites.

But their greatest strength rests upon their position in Congress. In both houses the Taft-Old Guard members are in controlling positions on major committees. Well-organized and more consistent in holding their line against outside attacks, they outmaneuver the Dewey-liberal members of Congress.

This advantage is due in large measure to the fact that Bob Taft assumed control of the Senate Republicans immediately after the 1952 election. His heir-apparent, Senator Knowland, has been nowhere near as successful in leading these forces, but they have remained remarkably united, nevertheless. In the House, Speaker Joe Martin and Representative John Taber, chairman of the powerful Committee on Taxation, both Taft admirers, have led the way.

President Eisenhower has had to placate these forces to achieve his legislative record to date. The issue in this campaign is whether the people will judge that record satisfactory. Undoubtedly the Taft-Old Guard Republicans will find their spokesmen have contributed sufficiently to this record to make it acceptable. Dewey-liberal Republicans are not too likely to find fault with the record as far as it goes, but they may well indicate disappointment over the failure to enact some of the more progressive items on the Eisenhower list.

What worries Republican leaders as the election nears is this: How will the party split affect the ballot?

One problem the Republicans face regularly is getting Republicans out to vote. In 1948, Old Guard members in sizable numbers stayed away from the polls, and thus contributed to the defeat of Dewey. Indifference of either Old Guard or Dewey-liberal Republicans in this election would be a serious blow to the G. O. P. hopes of a Republican Eighty-fourth Congress.

WITH the announcement of Dewey's retirement as governor, the Republican crisis becomes more acute. New York alone could decide the control of the House. At least four of the present twenty-seven Republican Congressmen from New York represent marginal districts carried by less than 5 per cent of the vote in 1952. Without Dewey heading the ticket, there is almost certain to be some decrease in the Republican turnout. Should this be sufficient to swing three or four New York Congressional seats from the Republicans to the Democrats, G. O. P. hopes of controlling the House would be virtually blasted. Party leaders are well aware of this and have exerted every influence on the Governor to run. Though his decision was held up for months, his stand remains firm.

Why has the long-time leader of the liberal faction of the party chosen this time to step down?

The Governor gives personal reasons which are sound in themselves, but it is just as reasonable to expect him to aid the party at this critical point. Dewey's long record indicates he would do that if he were entirely happy about party affairs. Many will read his decision as an answer to his being ignored on the national scene. Since he spearheaded the drive for the President's nomination, Dewey has been relegated to the background. He played no part, outside his state, in the 1952 campaign. His role since the Administration assumed office has been simply that of an infrequent visitor to the White House, more infrequent in fact than lesser figures of the party. For two years the guiding powers of the G. O. P. have gone along on the premise that Dewey was more of a liability to them than an asset. They have been happy that the man who maneuvered Ike's nomination—and made it possible for the Republicans to win a national election after a long drought—has stuck to his own bailiwick.

And meanwhile what has happened to the vanquished faction at Chicago? Controlling the machinery and a major bloc of votes in Congress as well as the Republican National Committee, the Taft forces have fared very well, patronage-wise probably better than they would have fared had Taft won the 1952 battle. In Congress they have been the consultants and the partners of the Administration and at times they have carried the club. For losers in a political fight, the Taft group has fared handsomely—too handsomely, many Dewey followers will tell you.

But in a very large measure the fortunes of the Taft-Old Guard group are at stake in this election. It depends upon how Congress lines up next January.

1. Republican majorities in one or both houses by narrow margins will continue the Taft-Old Guard dominance. Narrow-margin control will enable them to hold their important committee posts and will place a premium on every G. O. P. vote.

2. Republican majorities in both houses by sizable margins would maintain their committee power but would leave the group in a weaker bargaining position. Such an outcome would be an Eisenhower victory mandating members of Congress to support his program.

3. Democratic control of Congress would strip the Taft-Old Guard clique of its power in Congress, both as to votes and on committees. In that event there would be a tendency to turn again to the professional politicians of the Dewey-liberal school to salvage party hopes for 1956.

Whatever the outcome, the hopes of ending the party split are not bright.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEED A DOCTOR?

A Union Finds a Way . . . *by Joseph T. de Silva*

[This is the third of a series of articles on some of the many American trade unions which have gone beyond their collective bargaining function to serve their members with welfare programs of tremendous scope.]

Los Angeles

ONE of the members of our union returned from the hospital last week with her new baby. There had been some complications: the delivery was by Caesarian section. Her total hospital bill—nothing. Her bill for surgery, for operating room, for anaesthetist, for medicines, for prenatal care—nothing. And yet the care she received was the equal of anything obtainable in America today. Her case is typical of the hundreds treated weekly under the Kaiser-Permanente Health Plan, to which our members subscribe.

When our union, the Retail Clerks Union, Local 770 of Los Angeles, began its search for a health plan in 1950, we were more than a little concerned with finding exactly the proper coverage. We were negotiating with employers to include a health plan in our contracts and we knew that whatever plan we chose would be with us for a long time. We also knew from the experience of other unions how weird some so-called health plans can be. For example one union local with a 100 per cent male membership was sold a plan which provided maternity benefits *for members only*—wives being excluded. Naturally the provision was an element of cost in the plan; it certainly was not an element of income!

We asked Bernard B. Berkov, a prominent medical economist, and Dr. E. Richard Weinerman, formerly of the World Health Organization and a noted public-health expert, to screen all available plans for us. Their first step was to survey the precise needs of our members. Dr. Weinerman and Mr. Berkov discovered these facts about the 15,000 members of our local:

1. They were young. The average male was only 32; the average female was 37.

2. They were healthy. Simply by virtue of their age they needed less than average care for most illnesses but *more than average care for maternity.*

3. The children-per-family ratio was above average, with young children predominating.

4. They had to spend three times as much on medical care for their *dependents* as for themselves.

5. They spent much more on medical care outside of the hospital—66 cents out of every "medical dollar"—than they spent for hospital care.

FROM this report it was clear that we needed a plan to cover not only our members but their dependents, especially children. It had to be a plan that provided liberally for maternity care, that provided for both in-hospital and out-of-hospital care, and finally, that returned the most for each dollar spent. Basically two kinds of plans were offered to us. Plans such as Blue Cross and others of an insurance nature offered not medical care but partial compensation for medical expenses. The Kaiser Foundation's Permanente plan, on the other hand, offered actual group medical care on lines somewhat similar to that extended by the Health Insurance Plan in New York and a few other group-health organizations. The word Permanente, incidentally, comes from the name of a California creek near where the industrialist Henry Kaiser, creator of the foundation which bears his name, built his first cement plant.

The union voted to choose the Kaiser-Permanente Plan by more than seven to one. Some of the reasons for their strong preference became clear during discussions. We learned that Permanente devotes 85 cents of every medical dollar directly to medical care; the remaining 15 cents covers administrative expenses *directly connected* wtih medical care. This is because the plan provides a full medical plant, including hospitals, clinics, laboratories, and X-ray equipment, all of which are available to members and their dependents at no cost beyond the stipulated monthly membership premium. The only exceptions to the no-cost rule are a five-dollar fee charged for a physician's house call and minimum fees for certain types of allergy treatments.

SINCE the plan is part of the union's contract, employers pay 5¼ cents per straight-time hour into the health-plan fund for each union member. This averages $9.10 per member per month—enough to pay all of the medical expenses for each member and his dependents.

By approving the Kaiser-Permanente Plan and writing it into the union's contracts, we became the instrument by which the Kaiser Foundation was able to establish itself firmly in Los Angeles. The plan is an outgrowth of the medical care which Henry Kaiser offered to the men who built Boulder Dam—complete medical care on a prepaid basis. When Grand Coulee Dam was built, the coverage was extended to the workers' families. Management had discovered that productivity was impaired when workers had to take time off to obtain medical care for the family—and when men were worried about their families' health. Similar health plans were offered to Kaiser shipyard workers during the war. Finally the Kaiser Foundation's full-coverage plan was evolved and was first made available in Northern California.

Each Permanente member is issued a small addressograph plate with his name, address, and number. In our union the disks are jokingly called "charge-a-plates." A baby born under Kaiser-Permanente care is itself a mem-

JOSEPH T. DE SILVA is Secretary-Treasurer of Retail Clerks Union, Local 770 of Los Angeles—A. F. of L.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber at birth and automatically gets its "charge-a-plate." It will be cared for by pediatricians until its fourteenth year and is then moved into the adult bracket.

The foundation had to rent hospital space during its first years. Shortly after all of the Retail Clerks became members, construction was begun on the modern Kaiser hospital in Los Angeles. It was completed in February last year. Electrically raised and lowered beds create patient comfort and relieve nurses of unnecessary work. Patients have ice-water fountains at their fingertips, wash stands at each bed. They can open the full drapes (one wall of each room is of glass) with the flick of a switch. The maternity floor is designed according to the ultra-modern system known as "rooming-in." A drawer-like crib slides back and forth between nursery and the mother's room, thus enabling mothers to have their babies when they want them. Visitors enter all rooms from the outside balconies; the center corridors are for the exclusive use of nurses and other medical personnel.

The Los Angeles County Medical Association seems to think that care this good *must* be socialistic. A series of vicious attacks on the Permanente idea by the association's president culminated in an attempt to bring before the American Medical Association's national convention a resolution declaring unethical all "closed-panel" physicians, such as Permanente's. The resolution was set aside for further study, but all indications are that the neanderthal wing of the A. M. A. will swing back to the attack.

Despite the name-calling, nearly 500,000 Californians have now joined the Kaiser-Permanente Plan. Hospitals are available throughout California and in Washington and Oregon.

A minimum waste in use of facilities and maximum utilization of skill sold the Kaiser-Permanente plan to our members. We have never been sorry for our choice.

TRUMBULL PARK: ACT II

Elizabeth Wood Story . . . *by Robert Gruenberg*

Chicago

AFTER seventeen years of running this city's low-rent public-housing projects, Elizabeth Wood has been fired from her job as executive secretary and operating head of the Chicago Housing Authority. Behind the dismissal is the story of an able, courageous, determined woman devoted to democratic principles and the machinations of vote-hungry politicians gathered around a man—the mayor of Chicago—who has permitted his subordinates to make policy for him.

The Japan-born daughter of an Episcopal lay missionary, Elizabeth Wood came to Chicago in 1928 as a social worker. Barely ten years later, in her post with the C. H. A., she began her fight to clean out the city's slums. She built houses, thousands of them, but she also did more. She fought politicians, red tape, and discrimination. She never forgot that the key to successful social service was field work and she was almost as often to be found visiting her projects as behind her desk. In 1944 she went to Washington to secure permanent housing for Negro war workers. Her friends and advisers scoffed, but years later she revealed that it had taken her exactly nine minutes, after the proper doors were opened, to cut through war-time red tape and secure a $9,000,000 grant for 1,500 permanent housing units.

In the end it was her insistence on equal treatment for Negroes that proved her undoing. She had made powerful enemies in her long tenure in office and their voices began to be heard a little more than a year ago when a Negro family moved into the Trumbull Park project (see *The Nation,* May 22). Violence flared on the project for months—bombings, arson, rock-throwing, assaults. Then the violence abated and it seemed to many Chicago supporters of Elizabeth Wood that she had successfully weathered another crisis.

They were wrong. A few weeks ago the housing commissioners called in Miss Wood and told her she was no longer the operating head of the agency. Her new boss, she was informed, would be Lieutenant-General William B. Kean, retiring commander of a Midwest military area, a West Pointer, and a veteran of Korea as well as of both World Wars. She was informed that she would be expected to give the new "executive director" her "full and loyal support."

John R. Fugard, chairman of the C. H. A. board, explained to the press that business considerations had finally overridden the "social aspects" of the C. H. A. Management and operation were henceforth to be of "first importance" rather than the determination of housing needs, the handling of community relations, or cooperation with welfare agencies. Nothing was said of what Elizabeth Wood was expected to do in this new set-up.

When the news was out hundreds of calls and letters came to the C. H. A. offices urging Elizabeth Wood not to resign in the face of this "shelving" operation. "We need you there," was the import of most of the messages, "you are the only one we could always trust." She decided to see Mayor Martin Kennelly. In a conference which has never been fully reported, she told him how, despite promises made to her, top organizational changes in the C. H. A. had been made without previous discussion with her. She reported that an internal campaign to undermine her position had been going on for some time and that she had been unable to get a firm declaration of support from the four housing commissioners. She told the mayor that for a year she had been getting directives

ROBERT GRUENBERG is on the staff of the Chicago Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from several different "authorities" on when, where, and how to permit Negroes to move into the Trumbull Park project. The mayor asked for time to "look into" the situation. James C. Downs, Jr., the city's housing and redevelopment coordinator who keeps the mayor out of the hot water of this city's social problems, urged her not to resign.

The mayoral conference was followed by one with Fugard, who told her that unless the public clamor in her behalf was stilled a "counter-attack" would be made upon her which would include certain unspecified "charges." Shocked by what she and others viewed as a threat of political blackmail, Miss Wood decided to call for a full hearing before all the commissioners on August 30.

Meanwhile the "business manager" line given out by the housing-authority board was swallowed by most Chicagoans but not by those familiar with the long struggle of Miss Wood and the C. H. A. against the foes of public housing. The C. H. A. had started operations in 1937 with a $10,000 loan from the city. Owing largely to the imaginative yet practical leadership of Miss Wood, the agency has grown until it is now handling twenty-six housing projects scattered over the slum-scarred face of Chicago, sheltering about 60,000 persons in 12,000 apartments. Unlike other city departments, the C. H. A. has been untouched by graft, favoritism, or scandal in twenty years of Democratic rule. Miss Wood's most vitriolic attackers have been forced to admit this.

BUT if the question of sound business management—or the lack of it—was not the real reason for the move against Miss Wood, what was? Miss Wood herself provided the answer:

> The truth is that the differences that have arisen between the commissioners and the executive secretary have been related primarily to the issue of elimination of segregation in public housing and the opening of all public-housing projects to Negro and white persons without discrimination. . . . This policy . . . is rooted in the laws of the state, the resolution of the city council, the stated policy of the authority—reiterated four times during the last four years.

Despite the noble declarations by the housing commissioners, Miss Wood declared, Negroes had been barred from three Chicago projects. The C. H. A.'s

Elizabeth Wood

counsel, defending against a suit brought to compel the admission of Negroes, had argued the "separate but equal" doctrine in open court. She added that she had been under instructions not to admit any Negro family into the Trumbull Park homes. "The commissioners," she said, "are either unwilling, unable, or afraid to come to grips with a racial-relations policy following the letter and spirit of their own resolutions, the city, state, and federal laws."

On August 23 Elizabeth Wood was fired outright. The executive secretary, said the commissioners, was usurping their authority; she was not the only one cognizant of a race problem in Chicago; General Kean had a proven record of dealing with minority groups, having been the first American general to integrate Negro and white troops in Korea.

But the commissioners failed to answer the core of Miss Wood's charges: What about segregation in this city's public-housing projects? Some Chicago newspapers rushed to the commissioners' defense. Were there not Negroes in all but three of the city's twenty-six public-housing projects? How can charges of segregation be sustained in the face of the fact that 62 per cent of all public-housing tenants were Negroes and only 38 per cent white? These newspapers conveniently forgot that according to the C. H. A.'s own figures, from 80 to 85 per cent of the families displaced by post-war slum clearance—to make room for highways and other public construction—were Negro families. And they neglected to point out that the law requires Chicago's own "displaced" persons, especially those with low incomes, to be given priority in public housing.

This city's post-war public improvement program was reaching a peak in 1950. Negro applications for housing were piling up. The mayoral and aldermanic elections were due in the spring of 1951 and the Negro housing question could prove an explosive element. It was about this time that the C. H. A. officially adopted a no-discrimination policy. But enunciation was one thing; execution was another. From the summer of 1951 to the fall of the following year Miss Wood failed to get clear-cut directives on the admission of Negro tenants. Finally, in October, 1952, a second resolution against discrimination was approved. This one stated that applicants, regardless of color, could apply for accommodations in projects of their choice and that the staff would do all in its power to honor that choice. There was one exception to this rule. When a family was the first of its race to seek admission into certain projects, the commissioners themselves would pass on the matter. From October, 1952, to July, 1953, the applications of "first" Negro families to move into two "all white" projects were sent to the commissioners. The commissioners simply did nothing. The situation was aggravated when a Negro family moved into Trumbull Park homes, one of the heretofore "all white" projects. The C. H. A. explained it had not known the family was Negro when the application was made and processed. Today twenty-one Negro families are living in the 462-unit project. "Every [Negro] family we moved in was because we pushed and pushed," Miss Wood has stated.

THIS is the real story behind Miss Wood's dismissal. There were other elements, of course: the enmity of politicians who failed to win favors from her; the thousands of petition signatures presented at the City Hall demanding her dismissal, collected by anti-public-housing groups as well as lunatic-fringe organizations. A tragic footnote is the fact that there was never a word uttered in support of Miss Wood by the man most obligated to utter it—the mayor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

City Hall is thinking about other matters: the mayoral and aldermanic elections of next spring. In a sense, dumping Elizabeth Wood helps clear the decks for Kennelly to run again. He is in a better position for political fence-mending—especially with Chicago's South Side bloc of aldermen—and can better face the mass of property-owning voters with their deep-rooted fears of falling property values in a changing city. Did Kennelly alienate the liberal voter? That voter is in the minority and dislikes the present Democratic regime anyway. The Negro vote? It is an imponderable. Some City Hall observers, who watch the vote returns precinct by precinct on election night, point out that, except in 1948 when Harry Truman was reelected, it has failed to "deliver" as had been hoped.

What of the C. H. A.'s future? General Kean has promised "no major changes" so far. He believes in public housing, according to news accounts. He declined comment on the Trumbull Park situation because, he said, he was not familiar enough with the situation. "He was involved in housing administration in 1947 when he commanded Camp Jackson, Columbia, South Carolina, and later faced similar problems in Japan," says a fact sheet issued to C. H. A. personnel. "During the past two years . . . he was concerned with housing military and civilian personnel in almost one hundred installations in thirteen Midwestern states."

Miss Wood was more than "Miss Public Housing" on the Chicago scene. She was among the last of that group of governmental servants of the mid-'30's —the Ickeses and the Hopkinses— whose integrity, devotion to public service, and belief in the principles upon which the nation was founded, could never be swayed by "realistic" politicians. This was her undoing.

To Speak or Be Silent . . *by Anton Chekhov*

In submitting to The Nation *this Chekhov "short short" story, which has never before appeared in English, the translator wrote:*

"To Speak or Be Silent was written by Chekhov in 1883 or 1884, but was not published until 1925 when it appeared in Volume 8 of the 'Red Archives', a Soviet historical journal. The manuscript had been discovered in the archives of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee where it was deposited after that committee, on April 18, 1884, decided to prohibit publication because it was felt that 'the man in the blue suit' was meant to portray a government spy.

"Chekhov had written the story for Oskolki—*'Fragments'—a popular St. Petersburg humor magazine of the time. I translated it while preparing the second volume of* Digest of the Red Archives *which is to be published by the University of Michigan Press."*

Translated by Leona W. Eisele

Once upon a time, in a certain kingdom, in a certain country, there were two friends, Krueger and Smirnov. Krueger possessed brilliant mental faculties. However, Smirnov was not so brilliant as he was meek, humble and weak-willed. The former was garrulous and eloquent; the latter, taciturn.

Once both of them were riding in a railroad coach, trying to win a certain young lady. Krueger was sitting next to this young lady and fawning on her. Smirnov remained silent, blinked his eyes and longingly licked his lips. At a certain station Krueger went out of the coach with the young lady and did not return for a long time. Having returned, he blinked his eyes and clicked his tongue.

"How smooth you are, friend," Smirnov said with envy. "How do you do it! You'd hardly succeeded in taking a seat next to her, when already . . . Lucky man!"

"You let opportunities slip through your fingers. You sat with her three hours and scarcely spoke a word! You're quiet as a log! With silence, my friend, one gains nothing in this world. You must be dashing, garrulous. You succeed in nothing, and why? Because you're a milksop!"

Smirnov agreed with these arguments and decided in his heart to change his character. In an hour, having conquered his timidity, he took a seat next to a certain gentleman in a blue suit and began to chat glibly with him. The gentleman seemed to be a very loquacious man and immediately began to put questions to Smirnov, chiefly of a scientific nature. He asked him how he liked the land and the sky, whether he was satisfied with the laws of nature and human society, touched slightly on European free-thinking, the position of women in America and so forth. Smirnov answered wittily, willingly, and with enthusiasm.

But how great, you'll agree, was his surprise when the gentleman in the blue suit, having taken him by the arm at a certain station, smiled maliciously and said, "Follow me."

Smirnov followed and disappeared, it's not known where. In two years, pale, emaciated, thin as a fish skeleton, he met Krueger again.

"Where on earth have you been till now?" Krueger asked with amazement.

Smirnov smiled bitterly and described all the misfortunes he had lived through.

"Don't be stupid; don't babble too much!" said Krueger. "Hold your tongue—that's it!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Furor Teutonicus

TYRANNY ON TRIAL. By Whitney R. Harris. Southern Methodist University Press. $6.

HITLER'S EUROPE. Edited by Arnold Toynbee and Veronica M. Toynbee. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press. $14.50.

MODERN GERMANY. By Koppel S. Pinson. The Macmillan Company. $10.

GERMAN HISTORY. SOME NEW GERMAN VIEWS. Edited by Hans Kohn. The Beacon Press. $4.

GOVERNING POSTWAR GERMANY. By Edward H. Litchfield and Associates. Cornell University Press. $7.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN THE 1930's Western policy-makers, pressed by London, acquiesced in the rearmament of Germany in the name of protection against communism. In the 1950's Western policy-makers, pressed by Washington, insisted on the rearmament of Germany in the name of protection against communism. The results of the earlier decision, albeit not conclusive, are not irrelevant to the problem of the probable results of the later one. If policy is to be based on reality rather than illusion, the record of the 1940's deserves searching reconsideration. Each of these new books makes a useful contribution to such reassessment.

Whitney R. Harris, member of the prosecuting staff at Nuremburg, later professor of law at Southern Methodist University, and now executive director of the American Bar Association, offers us a trenchant, illustrated 600-page summary of the trial of the major Nazi war criminals based on the forty-two published volumes of the official proceedings and on other sources, including personal observation. He has wisely arrayed the evidence not by individual cases but by the origins, essence, and acts of Hitler's Reich. As Dean Robert G. Storey observes in his foreword, "the story he tells within these pages is in every respect verified by citation to authority. It is a record of fact, and of truth." The author is less concerned with the mooted issue of the "legality" of the trial (though Justice Robert H. Jackson's introduction presents powerful refutations of the common criticisms) than with the record of German deeds between 1933 and 1945.

So incredible were these deeds that it is necessary for Americans, no less than for Germans, to be reminded anew that they happened. Harris reminds us. But his narrative is much more than a horror story; the deeper sources of the Nazi nightmare, ill understood, are assuredly not yet exorcised. The tale is more fully retold, if in less hideous detail, by the dozen able scholars contributing to the 700 pages of the latest volume of the Chatham House "Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946." Here is the most detailed and definitive account yet to appear, or likely to appear, of the politics and economics of the demented Führer's insane Reich—and of Il Duce's Italy, Vichy France, and other Nazi-occupied territories. To the inevitable *motifs* of theft, enslavement, and genocide are added, as Toynbee notes in his introduction, the themes of administrative chaos, alienation of all the conquered, and failure to attempt total mobilization until too late.

ITALIAN honor was in some measure salvaged by the anti-Fascist partisans in the last agonies of the Axis. In no single instance in Germany was there the slightest popular resistance to the Nazi madman, even where Allied armies had made such action possible and safe. How this came to pass is suggested in the richly perceptive new history of Germany by Professor Pinson of Queens College. This volume, covering the period from the French Revolution to the cold war, is history in the grand manner, with major emphasis on social change and intellectual trends. The direction of such trends is suggested by the fact that Goethe, Schiller, and their contemporaries denounced all chauvinism and boasted of being "world citizens," while Gerhart Hauptmann described his meeting with Hitler as "the greatest moment of my life." The arrest of civilians by officers at Zabern in 1913 called forth a storm of protest throughout the Reich. The murder of millions at Auschwitz evoked not a murmur.

How are we to explain Germany's *Untergang* from civilization—not to "barbarism" (an insult to all barbarians), but to nihilistic criminality on the part of its élite and to frenzied sadism and self-immolation on the part of its people? "Tyranny" or "totalitarianism" will scarcely serve as clues. Communist atrocities, although equally immoral, are never devoid of a rational purpose, however perverted. The atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, moreover, were perpetrated by the world's greatest democracy—where symptoms of militarism, xenophobia, and fanaticism multiply year by year and where the gangrene of anti-Communist monodiabolism is as firmly planted in the body politic as it ever was in the Nazi Reich. Explanations couched exclusively in "racial" or "national" or even economic or psychiatric terms are unconvincing. Toynbee and Spengler are more relevant. Pinson's brilliant multi-causal interpretation is subtly woven around the theme of "the tragic efforts made by liberalism and democracy to assert themselves in modern German history, and how they have been inundated time and again by the opposing forces of militarism and nationalism." In any case, it is a fact, incontrovertibly established in these volumes, that the German community of our time somehow managed to attain lower depths of evil than any known to man in any of his past or present experiments in social life.

Has retribution effected reformation? Two of the books before us bear on the question, although the answer is unclear. Hans Kohn, genial genius of New York City College, has brought together some representative post-1945 essays of ten German historians, commenting on phases of modern German history. All are readable and informative. Kohn finds encouragement in the aged Friedrich Meinecke's recent concern with

---

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Government at Williams College. His published books include "The Nazi Dictatorship" and "Germany Since 1918."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Western" values, but is disturbed by the new literature of exoneration. "Unfortunately, some of the old ghosts seem still full of life."

Equally inconclusive is the best one-volume resumé of post-war German government and politics thus far published. This symposium is dedicated to General Clay and edited (and in part written) by Dean Litchfield of Cornell. All the contributors—of whom the best known are Arnold Brecht, Taylor Cole, Carl J. Friedrich, Karl Lowenstein, and Rodney L. Mott—are reputable scholars with administrative or advisory experience in Western Germany. They give us an admirable and invaluable survey of all levels and functions of government since 1945. On the central question they are not of one mind. Mott finds German public finance anti-democratic. Dean Alonzo G. Grace cannot understand "why a people who a century ago contributed so substantially to the advance of education would succumb to the forces of Nazism." Friedrich is hopeful for German democracy. Loewenstein is skeptical. A year ago all assumed, with Hans Kohn, that E. D. C. would become a reality and that German sovereignty and rearmament were inevitable.

This assumption, happily, has been invalidated by French after-thoughts. European memories are longer than American. If they perpetuate fear, they sometimes forestall needless risks. Twenty years ago the appeasement of Germany in defense against Russia was folly, since the appeasers reckoned without the "defenders" and wholly misconstrued the nature of the red menace. Today the rearmament of Germany in defense against Russia is folly if judged by the German record. A rearmed Reich will never again be able to challenge the Soviet bloc to combat. But it may well become once more, with or without Soviet connivance, a deadly threat to all its Western neighbors. None of the authors here reviewed draws this moral. But these 2,800 pages, reflectively considered, point to no other conclusion.

The Bournoose and the Red Star

HEROES OF THE EMPTY VIEW. By James Aldridge. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.95.

By Edgar Snow

JAMES ALDRIDGE has steadily advanced in literary size with each of his books and "Heroes of the Empty View" should rank him well to the fore among young writers with something more to offer than technical brilliance and entertainment. His intimate attachment to the East is well established in this novel distinguished by its broad intention, scope, plot, dimensions of character, and historical interest. Here is enough violent action and dramatic narrative to satisfy any desert-thriller addict, and yet on another level a book of challenging ideas and judgments about man's individual and collective destiny in a world of shattered values and catastrophic change.

The place of the "empty view" is the Arabian desert and the story is of tribal revolt against the encroachments of the machine, the oil well, the land-bound peasant economy, and the master-bomber menacing them all. To heroes of the revolt their tribal society represents the condition of man's maximum dignity. They defend the "philosophy of self-dependence, of uncorrupted nobility . . . of the hardy implacable individual whose free will was the last resistance to all mass corruptions." Such is the conviction which has driven the Englishman Gordon, after World War II, to wed himself to the desert as a kind of latter-day T. E. Lawrence. A Cambridge-educated Arabist and an intellectual soldier, much of Gordon's personality and philosophy is a paraphrase of the "Seven Pillars."

Thus the hero fulfills, in leading tribal warriors, his own compelling physical need to deny materialism, the modern state, and all its vile humiliations imposed, whether for bourgeois or Communist ends, on the free spirit. Using Lawrencist tactics in desert border raids, Gordon is spectacularly successful against the depraved Pasha of Bahraz, a British protectorate. Then Hamid, his desert prince, is threatened with destruction in a mechanized counter-attack. Gordon has to leave Arabia as the price of a temporary peace bought by Hamid in order to strengthen his tribal alliances and make ties with the workers of Bahraz and its oil fields—workers led by an ex-tramwayman and Communist, the Bahrazi Zein.

BACK in England Gordon painfully renews relationships with his family and with Tess, his sweetheart of Cambridge days. During a search for values to replace his lost dusty freedom he also plays with the idea of standing for Parliament, where as a glamorous hero now he finds himself sought by politicians of left and right. But each party needs him for ends of its own and Gordon refuses to use grubby means for his noble end. At home he remains a queer one to his Calvinist mother, whose heart he watches being crushed by her frustrated daughter's conversion to the dogmatic certainties of Catholicism. In his brother he finds a pathetic man broken by intellectual compromise, also, and forced to betray his moral convictions by making bomber parts as the only way to save his bankrupt factory—and family.

Gordon's love affair with Tess, returned to her native Glasgow slums as a social worker, is verbally as tempestuous as some violence in the desert but it ends in another withdrawal for Gordon, this time from her Socialist alternative. Interviews with American and Russian diplomats convince him that the Englishman's choice is equally bleak, with the green island doomed in any major clash between them. After his parting with Tess nothing is left for Gordon but a finale in Arabia.

Violating his pledge to General Martin and the British Colonial Office—represented by Freeman, his sister's suitor and his own most despised antithesis—he once more joins Prince Hamid. But now the action combines revolt in the desert and the peasant-proletarian revolution, and Gordon's acceptance of this compromise involves him in fatal consequences. When he captures the oil fields by godlike trickery the old imperial world seems to crumble but so does Gordon's. Swiftly the novel reaches a denouement in which General Martin's effort to obliterate the wells and machinery by bombing plane rather than let them fall to the Arabs is pitted against

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star over China," "The Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gordon's demoniac attempt to blow them up rather than allow them to corrupt the tribal alliance—while both men are thwarted by Zein's logical plan to preserve the oil and the plant for the proletariat's social purposes.

The bones of this story are recent events in Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East and the synthetic fictive history is convincingly transferred to Arabia. It could happen any day. Subordinate roles finely drawn to life are subtly made to serve also to illuminate the inevitability of a broader historical process which relentlessly overwhelms the whole anachronism of the empty view. Such is the author's skill that several of his lesser characters could easily hold our interest as central figures in other books. Among them Zein—proletarian dogma bent on turning free tribesmen into slave mechanics, in Gordon's view—strongly dominates the closing pages. Given such importance, however, Zein remains an unsatisfactory character because of the author's failure to deal with him as pitilessly as he deals with the schizophrenic Gordon. There is no hint of the circumstances under which Zein would, as readily as Gordon, blow up his machines rather than accept certain defeat. Behind Zein's triumph also lie compromises imposed by a dogma and its infallible hierarchy, yet we get no glimpse of them nor of the tricks and traps which history is already laying for him and which will surely corrupt and degrade the purity of his individual purpose. Thus, Zein does not clearly emerge from the shadows of the future either as Gordon's alter ego or as the symbol of historical inevitability.

Despite that flaw—if it is a flaw—Aldridge must now be recognized, along with the early Malraux, as one of the very few writers who has managed to create literature on the philosophical foundations of historical necessity. His novel has the further advantage of being a helpful contribution toward the understanding of colonial revolution and the collapse of empire.

COMING

Most Likely to Succeed

by John Dos Passos

Reviewed by Harold Clurman

The Jew in America

ADVENTURE IN FREEDOM: THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA. By Oscar Handlin. The McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.75.

By Henry Popkin

OSCAR HANDLIN concedes in his preface that "Adventure in Freedom" is "not a complete history of the Jews in the United States" but "an effort at interpretation, based on materials commonly known to scholars." What he has written is an attractive synthesis of the well-known story. His greatest problem is making the material fit the space: he must compress 300 years of history into fewer than 300 pages, and although his primary concern is interpretation, he must still tell *what* happened as well as *why* it happened. Early in the book, Professor Handlin finds room for sketches of a few of the more striking individuals, like Major Noah and Rebecca Gratz, but as his narrative continues he gradually thins out people and events in favor of more general matters. He gives particular emphasis to the successive tides of Jewish immigration and their rivalries, their occupational patterns, and the adjustment of their religious practices to the American environment.

By all odds the most original and interesting chapter is Professor Handlin's account of the origins of American anti-Semitism. He finds no notable signs of anti-Semitism until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the international Jewish conspiracy became part of the Populist mythology. In 1891 the Populist Ignatius Donnelly wrote a utopian novel in which the world was menaced by a Jewish oligarchy of merchants, bankers, and princes. When, five years later, William Jennings Bryan thundered, "You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold," his statement apparently had anti-Semitic connotations for many of his listeners.

HENRY POPKIN, instructor in English at Brandeis University, contributes frequently to the Kenyon Review, *the* Sewanee Review, *and* Commentary.

GOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The term "God" (*Elohim*) has come to us out of the fierce warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the tyranny and injustice represented by "Baal" and other heathen gods. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", writes Prof. G. F. Moore (Commentary on Judges, p. 195). The struggle for social justice, against Baal and other gods was the driving force which, in Canaan, or Palestine, carried the idea of God authentically upward from heathenism to Ethical Monotheism. In its essence, therefore, the term God became the concrete, emotional symbol of social justice.

The churches, accordingly, must prepare themselves to cease using the powerful term God as the synonym of a merely personal, or individual, righteousness; and they must begin to use it as a concrete, emotional instrumentality of social vision. This is not the claim of some obscure sect; it is the mandate of scientific Biblical scholarship in our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities. We have reached a new epoch in which the leading religious question must be, *What think ye of God?*

No sooner did triumphant monotheism come down from the highlands of Palestine into the vast and sordid plain of world history than bookish men—indoor philosophers—went to work on the term God. They robbed it of its concrete, emotional value as a symbol of objective, outdoor, social justice. And they transformed it into a theological abstraction, "The Supreme Being", enthroned in the heavens, and endowed with "attributes" to be discussed at leisure for many centuries in class rooms.—This is not the whole story. A few suggestions will be found in a circular which will be sent to you for a three-cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without stamp will bring no result). L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since Professor Handlin has dealt satisfactorily with a period of 270 years, it may seem churlish, and it is in fact unpleasant, to complain of his less impressive treatment of the last thirty years. But it is necessary to call attention to the last two chapters. Serenity is their keynote; Professor Handlin has painted a picture of a fairly cloudless serenity in recent Jewish-American life, and he has accomplished this mainly by omitting whatever trends and events do not contribute to this picture. He makes no reference to the literature of Jewish self-discovery in the 1920's; neither Ludwig Lewisohn nor the *Menorah Journal* is mentioned at all in any connection. No reference is made to the anti-German boycott of the 1930's. There is no more than an indirect reference to the major parties' efforts to court Jewish voters by espousing Zionism; nothing is said of the Irgunist and early Stalinist attempts to capitalize on popular sympathy for Israel; the comparative success of Peter Bergson's Irgunist-front groups is especially worthy of comment because it suggests that there were great numbers of people interested in Jewish causes who were not being reached by the more respectable Jewish organizations.

Most curious of all is the absence of any reference to the 1952 crisis in the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Professor Handlin describes the founding of N. C. R. A. C. in a chapter largely based on an essay that he published in *Commentary*. The original essay mentioned the MacIver Report of 1952 and the subsequent objections of those organizations that were unwilling to curtail their services. In *Commentary* this reference drew a long reply from Professor MacIver and a long defense from Professor Handlin. But in the book, Professor MacIver, his report, and the controversy are ignored.

Professor Handlin is surely excessively comforting about the popular arts, especially when he observes that the movie "Gentleman's Agreement" presents Jews naturally, as they are; naturalness is a hard quality to find in a self-conscious, contrived cinematic tract against anti-Semitism. But the most serene conclusion of all is that the most meaningful and dynamic force in Jewish life is now religion: "Americans turned increasingly to the temple and synagogue." The author does not support this statement.

Selected New Books

Poetry

THE CLASSICAL ANTHOLOGY DEFINED BY CONFUCIUS. Translated by Ezra Pound. Harvard. $5. Whether the "inventor of Chinese poetry for our time" as Eliot called him, or merely the discoverer of Pound as Amy Lowell put it, Pound remains the master technician, and whether these translations are or are not scholar-faithful, Pound has put a great book into living English measures.

POETS OF TODAY. By Harry Duncan, Murray Noss, and May Swenson. Scribner's. $3.50. Not an anthology, but three separate first volumes published in one binding as an intelligent experiment in poetry publication. Three distinguished performances, but the show is clearly stolen by May Swenson's accomplished eye, ear, and diction. She is a poet who must be read.

ORLANDO FURIOSO. By Ludovico Ariosto. English Translation by Allan H. Gilbert. S. F. Vanni. 2 vols. $27.50. A prose literal rendering of Ariosto's great romance equipped with a good introduction, minimum notes, and a good index, but not with the Italian text.

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE. By Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Harvard. $7.50. A history especially designed as an introduction to Italian literature from the beginning. A brilliant treatment of the subject and a model for literary historians in any field. Especially timely for those seeking some background for the amazing revival of Italian fiction in our time.

COLLECTED POEMS. By James Stephens. Macmillan. $5. A revised and enlarged edition of the earlier "Collected Poems" by the much-loved author of "The Crock of Gold." Stephens sings the simple Irish song, clear and sweet, but knocked alive by wit and manliness.

SELECTIONS FROM LES AMOURS JAUNES. By Tristan Corbière. Translated by C. F. MacIntyre. California. $3.75. A generous selection from certainly the most irreverent and the most puckish of the French poets, brilliantly made into English verse, and with facing-page French texts.

AN ITALIAN VISIT. By C. Day Lewis. Harper. $2.50. A narrative poem, half travelogue, in a skillfully managed conversational tone. Interesting but not very exciting.

THE DEATH BELL. By Vernon Watkins. New Directions. $3. A new collection by a gifted and conscientious poet. Watkins is for those who care.

JOHN CIARDI

Philosophy and Psychology

APPARITIONS. By G. N. M. Tyrrell. Pantheon. $3. A masterly penetration into the field of telepathy, precognition, etc., which psychologists such as McDougall, Rhine, and Gardner Murphy have made respectable. Recommended to the scientific student of extra-sensory perception.

THE HUMAN ANIMAL. By Weston La Barre. Chicago. $6. Brightly written, charmingly illustrated, this is a work of the positivistic schools of anthropology and psychology: the "nothing but" school for which "man's human nature derives from the kind of body he has." Those who are satisfied with Hooton and Freud as philosophers, who are content to explain the greater by the lesser, will like it.

PYGMIES AND DREAM GIANTS. By Kilton Stewart. Norton. $3.75. The author, specialist in primitive cultures with a talent for adventure, lives among the Negritos and other tribes of the Philippine jungle and—without sentimentalism or romanticism—manages to prove that some of these barbarous peoples (not all) have found wiser methods of adjustment to the basic needs of man than our Western civilization.

THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF OTTO FENICHEL. First and Second Series. Collected and Edited by Dr. Hanna Fenichel and Dr. David Rapaport. Norton. $6.50 each. One of the brainiest and broadest of the orthodox Freudians discusses subjects both technical and cultural, ranging from metaphysics and anti-Semitism to the psychopathology of coughing.

SPIRIT AND NATURE: PAPERS FROM THE ERANOS YEARBOOKS. By Erwin Schrödinger, C. G. Jung, Adolf Portmann, Paul Masson-Oursel, and others. Translated by Ralph Manheim and R. F. C. Hull. Pantheon. $5. These studies, a selection of those read at the annual Eranos meetings on Lago Maggiore, reflect the significant integration that is taking place between Eastern metaphysics, Western psychology and the latest implications of physics. Archetypical is Schrödinger's "The Spirit of Science."

WALDO FRANK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books in Brief

Evolution of Socialism

A HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT. By G. D. H. Cole. Vol. I. The Forerunners: 1789-1850. $5. Vol. II. Marxism and Anarchism: 1850-1890. St. Martin's Press. $6.

Professor Cole has spent too much time in recent years producing rather thin popular "guides," so that it is good to welcome his return to the main track of scholarship. This new work, perhaps the most ambitious of his prolific career, provides us with both a lucid summary and a critical interpretation of a huge mass of Socialist literature, much of it indigestible but of no less historical importance on that account.

Socialism, like individualism, democracy, and other explosive abstractions, is incapable of exact definition. In this book it covers a wide variety of political and economic doctrines which have in common a general hostility to the competitive system and a general enthusiasm for collective action. Indeed, the author goes farther by taking account of non-Socialist thinkers—for example, John Stuart Mill and Henry George—whose ideas influenced Socialist thought.

Starting with Babeuf and the premature socialism of the French Revolution, the first volume takes the story up to the middle of the nineteenth century. This period was the heyday of the utopians and Professor Cole gives adequate attention to Owen, Fourier, Proudhon, and many another now forgotten. In addition he describes the contributions of the early French and English Christian Socialists and such forerunners of Marx as the Anglo-American John Francis Bray.

The wordy battle between the Marxists and the Anarchists, in which the former triumphed, is the theme of Volume II. Professor Cole, whose own non-Marxian socialism is tinged with philosophic anarchism, does justice to both sides. Of particular interest is his objective discussion of "Das Kapital" in which he shows the bogus nature of Marx's claim to "scientific" socialism. His theory of surplus value was "in truth a gigantic metaphysical construction, quite unrelated to any statement or hypothesis that can be tested or verified." Moreover, Professor Cole points out, Marx ignored developments in the advanced industrial countries after 1850. This helps to explain "why Marxism, in becoming the gospel of the major part of Continental socialism, failed to make any similar impact on Great Britain."

Good and Bad Medicine

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL MEDICINE. By Iago Galdston, M. D. Published for the Commonwealth Fund by the Harvard University Press. $2.75.

The writer of this little book is a scholarly physician who has long held the responsible post of secretary of the Medical Information Bureau of the New York Academy of Medicine. He undertakes to correct the prevalent confusion in America between "social medicine" and "socialized medicine." The latter means government control of the practice of medicine and is therefore "bad," whereas social medicine is the scientific professional approach to the whole human being in his social setting. Social medicine would correct the overspecialization now common among doctors. Medical education, instead of focusing upon diseases and remedies, would train the practitioner to aid his patients to realize the potentialities of their lives.

Unfortunately, Dr. Galdston fails to suggest how the reform of medical education and medical practice is to be accomplished. The economic influences which encourage many of the evils of specialization are given practically no attention, nor are we told how medical faculties dominated by specialists are to be induced to change their intrenched curricula and ignore their own interests. Practical steps toward social medicine require the enlistment of economic, social, and political forces as well as the intra-professional forces to which this volume is limited.

Before Atonement

JOHANNESBURG FRIDAY. By Albert Segal. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

On the Leventhals' silver wedding, which occurs two days before the Day of Atonement and on the eve of the Sabbath of Penitence, the lives of four members of the family—the mother, father, daughter, and second son—are appropriately laid open. Through retrospect and action the picture is built up of this lower-middle-class South African Jewish family, none of its members wholly admirable, none wholly unworthy. The mother, struggling to run the household with a constantly decreasing income while trying to help her children to "good" marriages; the son, infatuated with his mistress but not strong enough to appreciate her; the father, who has largely resigned material ambition without quite attaining spirituality; and the daughter who, despite her weaknesses and shortcomings, emerges as the strongest character in the novel.

Perhaps the achievement of "Johannesburg Friday" is the presentation of the South African background not as something exotic or unusual but as real and pedestrian—dull, dusty, and vivid. Without shrillness or piling up of horrors the situation of the "non-European"—the Bantu who preceded the white man in South Africa—is revealed, if not in all its wretchedness, at least in part.

Yet despite its competence and insights "Johannesburg Friday" is, except for the last fourth, a rather dull novel. The author has assembled the necessary ingredients and mixed them not unskilfully. All that is lacking is spirit.

25% OFF ANY BOOK

(10% off text and university press books)
Thru our BOOK CLUB • $1 Yrly. Membership Fee
ORDER NOW — DEDUCT 25%
Add 20¢ postage per book and 3% if N. Y. C. resident
Send for free list of books on political, social, economic developments in Africa and Far East.
MODERN BOOK CLUB
39 East 10 St., N. Y. C. 3. GR 3-0917

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unmoving Movement

THE GO-BETWEEN. By L. P. Hartley. Knopf. $3.50.

An unfortunate number of novels encompass much and accomplish little. L. P. Hartley's novel, however, while encompassing very little indeed, succeeds in establishing something rare—depth of characterization in a quiet, structured narrative.

The plot of "The Go-Between" is simple. An English schoolboy spending a summer at the country home of his friend acts (completely unaware) as "go-between" in a situation of secret illicit passion and becomes the trigger for final tragedy. While there is something of violence and sex in Mr. Hartley's book, both are muted by fastidious and sensitive prose. The result will be the despair of some readers and the pleasure of others.

There is much of Henry James in "The Go-Between." Mr. Hartley combines nuance, tone, and finely wrought architecture, neglecting only the Jamesian convolution of sentence. Like James also, his fiction is one of "unmoving movement" in which significant events have already taken place, leaving room only for gradual evolvement of situation. As his novel unfolds, Mr. Hartley transmits irony, emotion, and insight with great economy.

The fascination of Mr. Hartley's technique is the lightness of his strokes: a single sentence often suffices for an entire emotional complex. Precisely because "The Go-Between" lacks forward thrust, however, it will have limited appeal. And there are portraits of Victorian ritual, such as the following, which will leave even sympathetic readers nonplussed: "The men walked about to eat their porridge. This, Marcus told me, was *de rigueur;* only cads ate their porridge sitting down."

Cruel Sea

SALT IN OUR WOUNDS. By Jack Harvey. Dutton. $3.

A depressing implication of this autobiographical novel is the acceptance of war as a natural phenomenon. The survivors of the torpedoed tanker *Richard* make no distinction between the shelling and machine-gunning, as they flounder in the water toward the only remaining lifeboat, and the deadly perils of the next six weeks on the endless ocean under a burning sun. Sea and humanity are both killers.

"Salt in Our Wounds" describes in detail the voyage of thirty-nine men in a twenty-four-foot open boat. Brutality, meanness, greed, and cunning rise and ebb, but always in lower peaks as the sailors' vitality flows away. The hoarded rations dwindle, the precious drinking water becomes foul, wounds fester, boils and sores become unbearable agonies. Spasms of madness alternate with apathy and moral decay. In the face of impending death the men have only their insufficient ego as a resource.

Despite its careful precision, "Salt in Our Wounds" falls short of leaving the reader with the feeling that he has participated in a terrible experience. Perhaps because the narrator is a rather priggish young man, perhaps because the author has not yet learned the difference between detachment and aloofness, one comes away from the novel too conscious that he has been reading a well-written book and not conscious enough of the terrors of life-in-death.

Céline's Underworld

GUIGNOL'S BAND. By Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Translated by Bernard Frechtman and Jack T. Nile. New Directions. $5.

"Guignol's Band," Céline's third volume of fiction to be translated, is, he says, the first section of a four-part novel. However, it is reported that this may be the only section that will ever be published, the others having been lost by Céline in 1944 during his escape from France just before the collapse of the Nazi occupation. Céline was notorious then for receiving preferential treatment from his country's conquerors. After his two autobiographical novels, "Journey to the End of the Night" and "Death on the Instalment Plan," had put him in the forefront of French writers, he published a number of pamphlets attacking the Jews, the Americans, and the British. These gave him status among the Nazis, and subsequently this first part of "Guignol's Band" was published.

For its power of projection alone it can be placed alongside his best work, with perhaps a suggestion in its heightened style of something even still better to come. The qualities that brought him literary fame—his skill in depicting the hallucinatory, the scabrous, the burlesque, and his virtuoso character delineation—have never been evidenced with more extravagance and fire.

London during the First World War is the scene of the story—we are shown Céline's familiar underworld of pimps, prostitutes, petty thieves, dipsomaniacs, and talented murderers addicted to the use of hand grenades in homes and bars. Evident throughout is Céline's excoriation of the war and in particular of the French and Allied side. The translation is colloquial and excellent.

All Was Not Quiet

A TIME TO LOVE AND A TIME TO DIE. By Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by Denver Lindley. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

In "A Time to Love and a Time to Die," Erich Maria Remarque is once again writing of the horror and futility of war. The book focuses on a German private named Ernest Graeber, who returns from the carnage of Russian fighting during World War II to find home and city pulverized by Allied air attacks. Only the informers seem intact, and immune to the fear of concentration camps. Of course, as a German soldier and veteran of the Russian front Graeber is no stranger to death. On his furlough, however, he encounters the death of German civilians, and that makes all the difference. Under the prodding of defeat, Ernest's conscience creaks awake.

Essentially Remarque's novel is taken up with Private Graeber's soul-searching and his love affair with a girl named Elizabeth. The love affair is curiously unreal; a plot mechanism introduced but never developed beyond the point of occasional poignancy. The problem of guilt—Ernest's and Germany's—is not handled much more profoundly. Many readers will find it difficult to identify themselves with the situation of Graeber or of the suffering German population. For these readers there will be the insistent mental picture of millions of people butchered throughout Europe and the question whether conscience, when awakened only in defeat, is conscience at all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To be sure, Graeber is tormented by the fact that it is too late for simple repentance. But Remarque does not take us deeply into the hearts and minds of either the unregenerate Nazis or the Private Graebers—those who committed or those who ignored methodical bestiality such as the world has never known. Remarque places his stress on events rather than insight, movement rather than motivation. The result is a fast-paced and readable novel whose main effect lies in external description—a horizontal narrative seldom reaching beneath the surface of its material.

Professorial Wencher

A RAKE AND HIS TIMES. George Villiers, 2d Duke of Buckingham. By John Harold Wilson. Farrar, Straus and Young. $4.

Mr. Wilson believes that the second Duke of Buckingham, a resplendent figure at the Court of Charles II, has been judged too harshly by moralizing historians. But if it is unfair to label him "the wicked duke," he was, for all his reputation as a wit, an exceedingly foolish nobleman. As a wencher he was as professorial as his royal master, for whom, on occasion, he pimped. Otherwise, he was the dilettante par excellence, dabbling in science, literature, war, and statecraft. Mr. Wilson makes much of the fact that in an age of bigots he believed in "a true and perfect liberty of conscience." However, his championship of persecuted nonconformers was subordinate to political exigencies and fitful at best.

Buckingham is not without interest as a representative Restoration character, but despite Mr. Wilson's efforts he remains a minor historical figure who will continue to be remembered mainly for John Dryden's scathing description in "Absalom and Achitophel":

> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by starts, and nothing long;
> But in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN HER second or third season in this country Flagstad, at a Town Hall concert, sang an aria from "Aida" in such electrifying fashion as to raise the question why not at the Metropolitan. When I put the question to her she answered that "they did not ask me"; and similarly when I inquired why she allowed herself to be dangerously overworked (four Wagner performances in one week, and on one occasion three on three consecutive days) her answer was that "they asked me." For the explanation of these answers I had to wait until "The Flagstad Manuscript" (Putnam, $4), the story of her life as she told it to Louis Biancolli. And at this point I will add that in our brief talk I got the impression of a wonderfully decent person. I mention this because it makes her a credible witness for me in this book; and also because such decency is the only thing she claims for herself.

A key to everything that has happened in her life is her statement "I am not an artist except when I am dealing with art, and when I am not dealing with art I am the most commonplace person in the world." The typical celebrated performing musician is someone who early in life made his art and career paramount, and who accepted the distortion of his personal life by their conditions and exactions. But Flagstad from the start wanted what the commonplace person would want—"a simple and tranquil home life, and a husband to love and respect me"; her talent, at first, was a means of achieving this personal happiness; her art, much later, was something carried on by the artist, whose interference with that personal happiness the commonplace person had to endure.

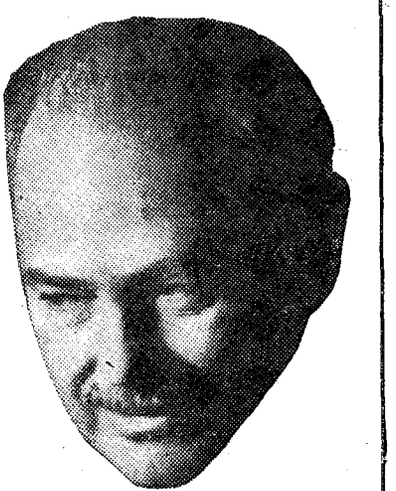
As the child of two hard-working professional musicians—her father a violinist and conductor, her mother a pianist—she got involved with music as the child of two cooks would have got involved with cooking; and the piano-playing and singing that began as something to do for pleasure became some-

Next Week in The Nation

An American Tragedy In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer

by

Waldo Frank



Few of us can take the time to read the 992 pages of small type which comprise the record of the Oppenheimer hearings. But Waldo Frank, astute critic of American culture, has read it, and with care. He writes: "The drama of this matter is so intense, so symbolic and relevant for the lives of us all that the 'record' becomes an experience like a great novel."

Next week Nation readers will share this memorable experience through the sensitive, perceptive talents of Waldo Frank as he reviews the record "in the matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LECTURE

AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM

GENEVA: GATEWAY TO CO-EXISTENCE?

A Lecture By
HARRY BRAVERMAN
co-editor, *American Socialist*
Friday, SEPTEMBER 24, 8 P. M.
Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.)
Contribution: 75¢

PUBLICATIONS

"GOOD BOOKS CAN BE FREE!" Foundations, universities and other organizations distribute many good books free. Our Guide lists 500 selected books. Send $1.00 for Guide. **OTIS PUBLICATIONS, Box 21P, Alden Manor, Elmont, N. Y.**

"ADOPTED BREAK SILENCE," collected reports from 40 adults who were adopted children. Advance orders $3. Life history Study Center, 222 N. Hicks St., Philadelphia 2, Pa. Or send 25¢ for information on book and program of Center.

BOOKS located. No charge for searching. **DELTA BOOK SERVICE,** 2856b Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tenn.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 73½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

"BACK TO SCHOOL" SPECIAL! **3 Speed ENGLISH BIKE,** completely equipped $39.95. With this ad, Free box of "Joe Must Go" Matches on all sales of $5.00 or over. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Ave. (13-14 Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

REAL ESTATE

TAX-EXEMPT
INDUSTRIAL SITES
For Lease in
Jersey City
L. N. ROSENBAUM & SON
Negotiators of Financing for
Large Industrial Projects
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

thing to study to do well, and eventually something with which to earn a living in whatever musical jobs came her way. Whether it was, at fifteen, to play dance music at a ball, or to accompany a lady's recitations of poetry, or, at seventeen, to sing her first role in opera, she thought of herself as a professional musician doing the job she had been given to do; and this continued to be her attitude in all the years that followed. In those years, also, she continued to regard this professional activity as one to be carried on, as any other trade or profession would be, within the frame of a normal personal life.

And so when in 1930 she married her second husband, a wealthy business man, although the commonplace person felt able to give up the hard work of professional singing for a quiet married life and an occasional concert, the professional musician felt impelled to take on now this, now that challenging new role, to accept the opportunity to sing at Bayreuth, then at the Metropolitan. So too; although in a position to limit her work, the professional who did whatever job she was given to do accepted the heavy load of Wagner performances at the Metropolitan and concerts on tour that soon damaged the voice whose unflawed beauty all the way to high C, at her first Metropolitan appearances, was the result of its never having been taxed in this way until then. "At that time I took the high C's regularly," she says of her first Metropolitan rehearsal in 1935: when she said this to Biancolli in 1941 she was no longer taking those squarely attacked and full high C's that were one of the sensations of her first "Tristan" performance. And so, on the other hand, in the spring of 1940, "exhausted to the verge of hysteria," she decided she had done enough and planned not to return here the following season, but to do only a little more singing in Europe and then retire.

The German invasion of Norway kept her here an additional year; and we now have her statements about the incidents in which she was accused of impropriety. She shared the grief of other Norwegians here (she gave a concert for Norwegian Relief in Chicago, and canceled the one in New York only because of difficulties created by the man in charge of it); she went back to Norway because she wanted to see her family; and she didn't know of her government's opposition to her going. The arrangements about passage and visas were made entirely by her management, and in entirely normal fashion with the airplane office and consulates—which is to say no favors were asked of the German chargé d'affaires in Washington and he was not given his box at her Washington concert: presumably he bought it at the box-office. Nor was it any different in Norway. She stayed because she felt she should be with her family and her people; and her life was private, unpolitical, and unprofessional: her only public singing was done in Switzerland, where she went twice for a couple of months, and in Sweden, where she gave two concerts. For these trips the Germans granted exit permits and visas; for a third trip to Switzerland they refused them. As for her husband, he had originally joined the National Socialist Party because he had considered it a defense against radicalism; when she got to Norway she found he did not approve of its war-time role and was waiting for an opportunity to resign, which he did in July, 1941; and she tells us he did nothing thereafter that justified his arrest after the war. The arrest tied up their property; and the prosecutor, a personal enemy, kept her from leaving Norway to resume her singing on the pretext that she was needed in the investigation of her husband's financial affairs. At one hearing the old charge about the Washington concert was brought up; and her denial led to an admission by the Norwegian Embassy that there was no evidence of her having invited the German chargé d'affaires to the concert. And eventually she was allowed to leave. She was, she insists, not cleared —because she was never accused by her government of anything that she had to be cleared of.

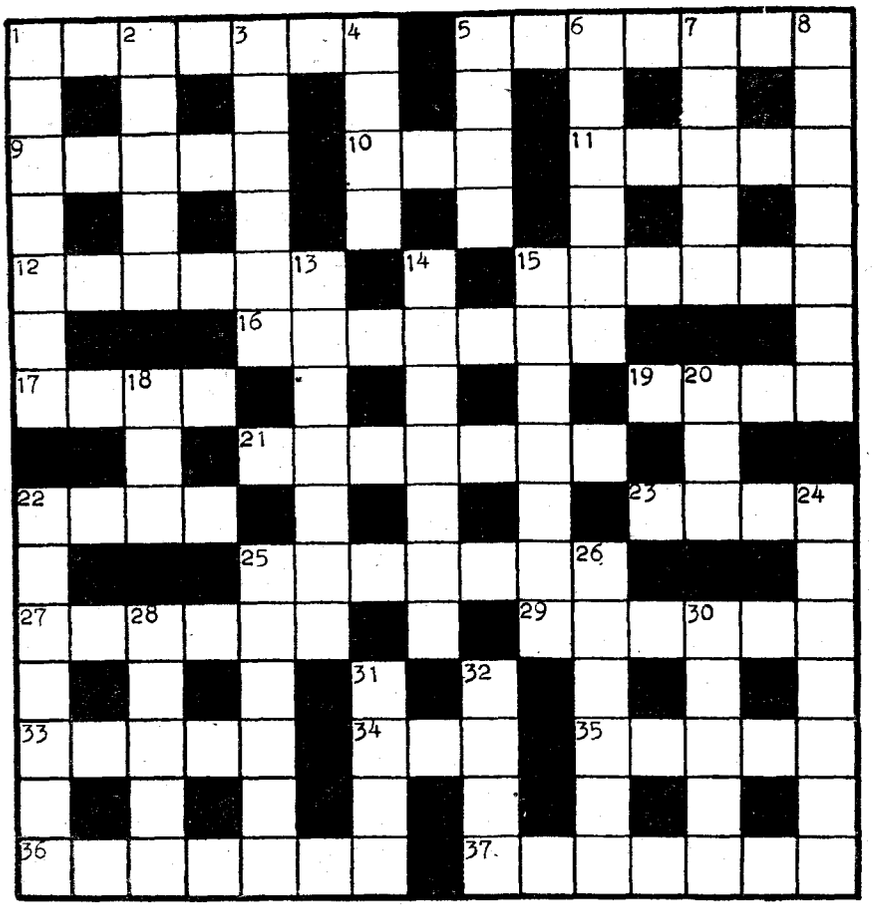
That I was politically inactive when others were sacrificing their lives I am prepared, along with millions of others, to admit. That I was neutral in my feelings toward the horrible tragedy that overtook my country is the grossest falsehood, and for a woman who loves Norway as I do, the cruelest unkindness of all. Nor do I think it fair of anyone to hold it against me that to the very end I believed in the goodness and decency of the man I had married.

Flagstad, as she tells it, was not a Furtwängler or a Gieseking.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 585

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 5 see 15 down.
9 Stiffness. (5)
10 The time of contingency? (3)
11 An alternative to this would make one guilty of treason. (5)
12 Grant, it's obvious. (6)
15 Part of the flower which suggests the complement of a three-year-old question. (6)
16 The gild applied to a poetic phantom. (7)
17 The fruit of McAuliffe's encirclement. (4)
19 The way some people lie! (4)
21 Evidently one of these rings belonged to a lady. (7)
22, 18, 23 and 14. A logical reply to the caller of 15 down, etc., if he were outside the barn. (4, 3, 4, 7)
25 Given two more than one for the money. (7)
29 As near as the fields of battle. (6)
33 and 35. Where is the spring being made ready? (2, 3, 5)
36 One throws away the shell! (7)
37 Expresses the way of the seraphs. (7)

DOWN

1 Difficult photographic shot on the lowest level. (7)
2 Very appropriate, but on the conservative side. (5)
3 Sin as well as duty, perhaps. (6)
4 They return in dismay. (4)
5 Cronin's were of the 5 across. (4)
6 Drooping, suggestive of Charley's relative. (6)
7 Hamlet called it dusty. (5)
8 Both gas and lines might be. (7)
13 X, in a state of condition. (7)
15, 1 and 5 across, 34, 27. A question of swap, with mounting trouble. (1, 5, 1, 5, 2, 7, 3, 1, 5)
20 The worst student doesn't get by with this expression of disapproval. (3)
22 Propaganda put out by the wartime agency (hardly crystal-clear)! (7)
24 Sort of sits on things and withstands action. (7)
25 Like copper? (6)
26 Hewer sometimes associated with this storage place. (6)
28 Outreached, but not hurt. (5)
30 29 without a breather. (5)
31 Affair, if out in the distance. (4)
32 Used to catch a certain vehicle? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 584

ACROSS:—1, 12 and 9 TELL ME WHERE IS FANCY BRED; 11, 10 and 29 WILD GOOSE CHASE; 13 BERNARD; 15 FALL FLAT; 16 SEDATE; 18 BALSAM; 21 INSECURE; 24 SPIRALS; 26 ABSTAIN; 28 and 5 WARD HEELERS; 30 LIEN; 31 INCARNADINE.

DOWN:—2 ENDTABLES; 3 LOGICAL; 4 EDOM; 6 ROWAN; 7 ARISTA; 8 CLARET; 14 STAIN; 17 DECATHLON; 19 APPEAR; 20 MALACCA; 22 SUBTEND; 23 RAILED; 25 RODIN; 27 PAWN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

SPEND THE JEWISH HOLIDAYS AT
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing. 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us.
OPEN ALL YEAR
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

WHITEFIELD, N. H.—Quiet, refined guests wanted in our home in the White Mts. Charming atmosphere. Magnificent location. Ragweed-free territory. Finest home-cooked food. $40 per week. Can accommodate four. Miss B. Ginsberg, STONY KNOLL, R. F. D. #4, Whitefield, N. H.

Green Acres Lodge
45 Miles N. Y. C. • OPEN ALL YEAR
Picturesque Estate • Seasonal Sports
Excellent Food
Central Valley, N. Y. Tel: Highland Mills 3071

50 Miles to *FOREST HOUSE*
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

WEST POINT FARMS
RELAXATION in quiet, restful atmosphere. Ramapo Mts. Former estate. Rooms with private bath. Modern. Health-quality food.
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Highland Mills 7895

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping Pong, other sports. Games, records, books. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Rates $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 *Miles from New York City*
JANE C. ARENZ R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 115 W 2

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Penna. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

FREE

TO NEW MEMBERS OF AROUND-THE-WORLD SHOPPERS CLUB

This Exquisite 6-Piece Set of Florentine Silver—

direct by mail from Florence, Italy—without payment of duty or postage

PICKLE FORK, with Winged Lion
BUTTER KNIFE, with Julius Caesar
SUGAR SHELL, with Apollo the Sun-God
MUSTARD SPOON, with fierce Griffon
DRESSING SERVER, with Romulus, Remus and Wolf Mother
OLIVE FORK, with Lily of Florence
ROMA

Illustrated Actual Size

Why This Sensational Offer Is Being Made by

Around-the-World Shoppers Club

To demonstrate the *quality* and *value* of Around-the-World Shoppers Club gifts, we will send you this lovely antique-finish setting *with our compliments* as an inducement to join now! These pieces were hand-made by the skilled craftsmen of Florence with techniques going back to the Renaissance. You'll love having them in your home!

Beautiful Gifts From the World Over—Without Payment Of Duty Or Postage!

Wouldn't you like to go shopping around the globe with a traveller who knows where the *finest merchandise* and *biggest bargains* are? Wouldn't you like to visit distant lands, shop for exquisite gifts in exotic bazaars, watch native craftsmen create beautiful things with their ancient skills? *Best of all*—wouldn't you like to make your home a "show place" with the exciting gifts you've purchased—values as much as *double* what you are asked to pay for them?

A Thrilling Surprise Each Month

To introduce you to the thrills and enjoyment of shopping abroad, let us send you this beautiful Florentine Silver Setting without charge. Then, as a member of the Around-the-World Shoppers Club, each month you will receive a surprise package sent to you *direct from a different foreign country*—and with it will come a colorful brochure telling the story of your gift!

Join Today By Mailing the Coupon

So—come aboard our magic carpet! You may join for 2 months at $5.00, 4 months at $9.00, 6 months at $12.00 or 12 months at $22.00. When your gift packages begin arriving, covered with foreign stamps, you'll be delighted you joined. However, if you become displeased in any way, resign membership and your unused payment will be refunded. Furthermore, if you are not captivated by your first selection, keep it as well as the Florentine Silver and receive a full refund. Mail the coupon *now* while this gift from Florence is offered FREE!

GIFT MEMBERSHIPS

If you wish to give Memberships as gifts, use a separate sheet, specify term of membership, and attach to the coupon so we may know your friends are entitled to the Silver Settings as an extra gift.

Around-the-World Shoppers Club
Dept. 241-F 71 CONCORD ST., NEWARK 5, N. J.

NOTE: The gifts are shipped directly to you from points of origin all over the world, prepaid. Thus, you become an importer without any of the headaches which usually attend importations. We guarantee that the gifts will be delivered to you without damage and that they will be worth much more than the price you pay.

Around-the-World Shoppers Club, Dept. 241-F
71 Concord St., Newark 5, N. J.

Please enroll me as a Member and send me the Florentine Silver direct from Italy FREE for joining. Start regular monthly shipments of the Club's selection of foreign merchandise direct to me from countries of origin and continue through the following term of membership:

☐ Check here if this is a request for a renewal or reinstatement of your membership so we can avoid duplicating countries.

☐ 2 Months ....$5.00 *(2 gifts at $2.50 each)*
☐ 4 Months .... 9.00 *(4 gifts at $2.25 each)*
☐ 6 Months ....12.00 *(6 gifts at $2.00 each)*
☐ 12 Months ....22.00 *(12 gifts at $1.83 each)*

I enclose remittance for $.....

Name.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

City & Zone.....State.....

(NOTE: All shipments come to you without payment of duty or postage. However, The U. S. Post Office Dept. charges a service fee of 15c for delivering foreign packages, which is collected by your postman and cannot be prepaid.)

CANADA, 2 mos., $3.50; 4 mos., $10.50; 6 mos., $14.00; 12 mos., $26.00. Delivered to your home without payment of additional duty or postage.
Address: 971 St. Timothy St., Montreal 24, Que.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED